

# Gardner Webb Review



*edited by*  
Christopher V. Davis  
and  
Nancy Bottoms



# *Gardner-Webb Review*

Journal of Undergraduate Scholarship  
Volume VI  
2012

Gardner-Webb University  
Boiling Springs, North Carolina

*edited by*  
Christopher V. Davis  
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# *Gardner-Webb Review, Volume VI*

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The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences Permanence of Paper of Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

Printed by Publications Unltd., Raleigh, North Carolina

[www.publicationsunltd.com](http://www.publicationsunltd.com)

Publication layout by C.V. Davis



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## The Role of the Church in Discerning One's Calling

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*Mackenzie Davis*

### Abstract

The research attempts to define the roles of the church community in the process of helping its members discern their particular calling(s). The research was based on a literature review that addressed what others have said about the definition of calling and the roles of the church in the process of discovering calling, and primary source data gained from in-depth interviews of people who are currently living out their calling(s). Most literature discussed that the church does have a role in calling, provides good support for that belief, and offers various ways that those in the church have helped in the process of discernment; however, few sources clearly laid out the specific roles that the church has or should have in helping others come to an understanding of their calling(s). Based on the collective data that was gathered, five specific roles of the church were defined, which were all aspects that were evidenced in the literature review. The experiences of those interviewed provided good support for the five roles that the church should have. These roles are general in nature and should apply to any Bible-believing congregation. The purpose for defining these roles is so that (1) people may have a clearer picture of the responsibility that the church has in the lives of its members, and (2) those seeking to discern their calling(s) may realize that God speaks through the church and uses those in the church as mediators in the lives of others, especially in regards to calling.

### Introduction

This research attempts to address the question of what the church community's role(s) should be in helping a Christian discern his or her particular calling(s). This includes the body of believers as a whole, as well as the local church community of which one is a part. This study assumes that all those needing to discern their calling(s) are already followers of Christ and are active members of a local faith community. The main focus of this research is the role of the church *during* the process of discernment.

The church should certainly continue to play a role in the life of a Christian after he or she has accepted his or her calling(s), but that is not specifically addressed here. Included below is a review of some of the existing literature on the subject of calling and its meaning, as well as what others say about what the church's role should be.

## Differing Views of Calling

Today there are a number of different views about what calling is, how to define it, and how one discovers his or her calling. Traditionally, calling was thought of as only pertaining to a person called to be a celibate monk or priest. During the Reformation, however, theologians like Luther began teaching that all aspects of life were our calling: being a mother, a wife, a daughter, a musician, a cook, a student, etc (Schuurman 2004, 26-27). In the Post-Christian era, existing views about calling were questioned because of too many choices being offered. The only certainty became the distinction between general and specific calling, which Schuurman clearly explains in his book, *Vocation*. He defines “general” calling as the call to accept God’s gift of salvation and to live accordingly. “Particular” calling he defines as that call to “special tasks, offices, or places of responsibility within the covenant community and in the broader society” (Schuurman 2004, 17). He argues that our particular stations in life, even those considered to be “secular” are callings as long as they are lived out in light of the gospel and our general calling to be a Christian (Schuurman 2004, 29). On the other hand, Calvin defined “general” calling as “the word that anyone could hear in preaching, inviting them to faith” and “special” (or particular) calling as something reserved for the elect to bring them to that faith (Placher 2005, 232). In his *Institutes*, Calvin talks about the duties given to everyone in his/her “particular way of life,” warning his readers not to go outside of their limits (Placher 2005, 237). He also mentioned that God created us to use our gifts, and one cannot go wrong in pursuing the use of them (Placher 2005, 235). For the sake of this study, “general” and “particular” callings will be defined according to Schuurman’s definitions.

There does not seem to be much question about “general” call. Many Christians believe that general call refers to that call initiated by God to become a follower of Him and to live as a Christian should, and many believe that this call is extended to everyone. The Bible clearly supports this belief. In the New Testament, this call is referred to many times. On multiple occasions, Paul exhorted the Christians to live as they are called (1 Cor 7:17-24) and to “walk in a manner worthy of the calling to which [they] have been called” (Eph 4:1 ESV). All throughout the New Testament, Christians are informed of how they should live (Rom 12:9-21; 1 Cor 16:14;

Eph 4:2-3; 5:1-2). Regarding “particular” call, the Old Testament gives plenty of examples of God calling people to particular tasks beyond the call to live as a follower of Him. This is seen in the stories of Moses, Nehemiah, and Joseph, which will be discussed below, as well as many others. The New Testament points out that the Holy Spirit gives everyone certain spiritual gifts to be used in the church as members of one body (1 Cor 12). Paul also suggests that he was called as an apostle, which he also considers his gift (Rom 1:1; Eph 4:11). For the sake of this study, it will be assumed that our spiritual gifts relate directly to our particular calling(s).

One aspect of “particular” calling that differs among Christians is the subject of what one can actually be “called” to do. This varies from denomination to denomination. I will not attempt to include all differing denominations on this subject but will mention a few that came up in the research. In the Lutheran tradition, a person is “called” when he or she is “summoned” by the church to a particular office of the church on a “full-time permanent basis”; has been educated, certified, and ordained or commissioned; and given “unique authority” and authorized to perform certain duties or functions within his or her office (Commission on Theology and Church Relations 1981, 24). The use of the word *call* should not be used for offices that are not directly connected to the teaching and preaching functions of the ministry. This means that those in positions such as custodian, secretary, social worker, etc (for the church) are not considered “called” but are considered “lay workers” (CTCR 1981, 25, 29). In the Catholic tradition, particular calling, or “vocation”, has a much broader meaning than in the Lutheran tradition. From my research, I found that Catholics have an understanding that everyone has a call to love and serve God, and how one chooses to do that is not limited, provided that it is within God’s will. There was, however, a lot of emphasis on being called to ministerial priesthood or the religious life as monks, brothers, sisters, etc, as well as specific ways of discerning a call to one of those positions (Tracy 2001; Scheiber 2008; Lowe 2007; Catholic Newman Center ASU). On its website, in an article about calling, the Reformed Church in America mentions that every Christian has “a purpose and calling in life,” which seems to be referring to particular calling. However, as the article continues, a “call to ministry” is the emphasis, expressing concern in helping others discern that call specifically (Reformed Church in America 2010).

Another area where many differ or are uncertain about particular calling, assuming that particular calling is not just limited to church-related positions, is whether God has a specific blueprint laid out for our lives with every detail mapped out or if He just guides us to a general place and allows us to choose the more specific details (e.g. He calls us to be a doctor but does not specify what type or where to get a job). Historically, theologians

like Bushnell asserted that God has an exact plan laid out for every human being, a particular task which each person is called to fulfill. Along with that, Bushnell believed that a person could miss that calling but only by his own doing (Placher 2005, 354-356). On the other hand, according to LaReau, God does not have a blueprint for our lives, but He always calls us to move forward and grow deeper in His love. She uses the term “vocation” to mean a call initiated by God, and it is something we must listen for; it is not something we can pursue or achieve on our own. She says that having a vocation means becoming the person that God calls us to be. LaReau does not limit the possible callings one may have, but she does tie it to one’s gifts and passions among other things. One point that she makes several times is that God never gives up on us. He remains persistent until we hear his voice, no matter how long that may take (LaReau 2003, 21-32). Also, many people are uncertain about whether God has one particular task that each person is supposed to fulfill, or if everyone has multiple callings to fulfill. One reason these areas have been so difficult to nail down is because people’s callings are very diverse, as well as each person’s experience with calling. Given this, it is extremely hard to come up with something that is true for everyone.

The Bible clearly shows the diversity in the way that God calls His people. Also, in looking at the stories within the Bible, it is clear that God does not generally call people in the same way that He used to. When comparing the call of Moses to lead the Israelites out of Egypt to the call of Nehemiah to rebuild the Temple, we see distinct differences. In Moses’ story, God directly spoke to him through a burning bush and told him what to do (Exodus 3). In Nehemiah’s case, God did not directly speak to him; instead, He placed a desire in Nehemiah’s heart and, in answer to Nehemiah’s prayers, used a mediator, King Artaxerxes, to bring that desire to fruition (Nehemiah 1-2). In the case of Joseph, God allowed a series of seemingly bad things to happen to Joseph; but we read at the end of his story that it was all part of God’s good plan to place Joseph right where God wanted him (Gen 50:15-21).

The most difficult part of this whole process, though, is figuring out *how* one discovers his/her calling(s) in life. What should a person do who wants to know his/her calling? There are many different approaches in answer to this question. Is there a right or wrong way to go about this process? Some would say yes and others would argue that one cannot go wrong, as long as that person is pursuing after what God wants. Many people have tried to come up with steps and methods to follow that would lead a person to discern what God wants him/her to do. Bushnell, for instance, came up with seven things to consider before choosing a calling: (1) God’s character, (2) the relation between our wills and God’s will, (3) our conscience, (4) God’s Word, (5) observe the way that God is working in our lives, (6) talk to friends and trusted Christians, and (7) talk to God (Placher 2007, 358).

Ignatius Loyola is also known for his extensive methods and steps of decision-making in his *Spiritual Exercises*. Some of those steps include praying for God to move our will to match His, considering the pros and cons, and using good reason (Placher 2005, 241-242). Many of these processes or practices are based off of the experiences of others, as well as spiritual disciplines taught in the Bible (e.g. prayer, meditation, solitude, study of God's Word, fasting, etc). There does not seem to be only one way for someone to find his or her calling, but rather, there seems to be an endless number of possibilities in which one comes to discover his or her calling. Some callings are discovered through experimenting with various things, others through their passions or gifts, still others through tragic accidents or events. Although there is no limit to the way that God can call a person, Schuurman points out that the most common and likely way that God calls people in today's society is through mediators rather than God speaking directly to them (Schuurman 2004, 25-26). As a Christian community, what role does (or should) the church have in helping others discern what God wants them to do?

### The Church's Role in Helping Others Discern Their Callings

For some the process of discerning one's particular calling can be very difficult, confusing, and stressful. Given that God primarily uses mediators to lead us to this call, what role(s) does the church, both as the body of Christ as a whole and as the local congregation that one is a part of, play in this process? Gathering from the research that was done related to this subject, the roles of the church in helping a Christian discern his or her particular calling(s) should be (1) providing a safe and loving community where people feel welcome, (2) the discipleship of believers, (3) helping believers discern their spiritual gifts, (4) identifying, calling, and ordaining people to service within the church, and (5) providing opportunities of service for those in the process of discerning their calling(s). This list should not be considered comprehensive; however, these are the main roles that the research supported. One major assumption related to this question is that those needing discernment have a proper understanding of the significance of community and fellowship with other believers and are active members of a faith community. This principle that the community is significant and plays a major role in the discernment of a person's calling(s) was consistent among most of the literature investigated (Holderness and Palmer 2001, 16-7; Smith 1999, 190-192; LaReau 2003, 110).

The first important role that a church should have in this process is providing a safe and welcoming community where people feel loved. The church should be a community of love, encouragement, conversation, and

learning. There is much wisdom within a community, given the diversity usually found within. Usually, there exists several generations, including both new Christians and mature Christians. Members of a church community should feel welcomed and loved and safe to open up and ask questions and share insight and experiences with others so that everyone can learn from each other. Many theologians and biblical scholars agree, and they assert that the church community often helps others discern their callings. According to Holderness and Palmer, many times others see things that we may not see about ourselves, and in this way they are “important instruments in the process” (Holderness and Palmer 2001, 16-17; LaReau 2003, 110, 120). LeReau notes, “All the communities we belong to, however loosely or tightly we may be affiliated with them, play a role in the cultivation, stimulation, and growth of our vocation” (LaReau 2003, 110). Here, LaReau includes any type of community, such as a school or family community, a sports team, a neighborhood community, etc. Smith believes that organizations or communities “force [members] to stretch beyond [their] perceived limitations,” enabling them to discover their own potential, which they may never have found on their own (Smith 1999, 164).

The second role that a church should play in this process of discernment is the discipleship of believers. This is a key role, as it is a primary call of the church and essential to the spiritual growth of Christians (Matt 28:19-20). The church as a whole has a calling to be a witness of the gospel amidst the damaging effects society can have on Christians (Schuurman 2004, 173). It is responsible for engaging its members in living out the gospel (Schuurman 2004, 174). In Ephesians 4:12, it talks about “the equipment of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for building up the body of Christ” (ESV), which is the responsibility of the teachers, pastors, and evangelists of the church. One author emphasized the importance of *practicing* faith, which the church should teach and lead by example (Holderness and Palmer 2001, 22-25). It is important to practice spiritual discipline in order to mature as a Christian. As mentioned before, these disciplines include prayer, fasting, meditation, study of the Scriptures, confession, worship, etc. These are considered “disciplines” because they take practice. Most of these disciplines are not talked about among the church. Prayer and study of Scriptures certainly are, but fasting, meditation, and solitude are rarely taught, much less practiced. A church community should provide a solid foundation of biblical values and experiences that can be shared with others. According to an article on their website, the Reformed Church in America believes that churches should “be in the habit of talking out loud about what it means to be called by God.” This teaching about calling and what it means to be called by God falls under this category of discipleship. This is a subject that does not seem to be outwardly taught in many churches (RCA 2010).

According to Schuurman, “A central task of the institutional church is to inspire a piety that sees all of life in relation to God” (Schuurman 2004, 67). God should be integrated into all parts of our lives, even the seemingly “secular” parts (Holderness and Palmer 2001, 15). Many Christians have a tendency to keep God out of work or even family, and they only include Him when they go to church or any church-related event. The fact is, God is everywhere and in everything. He is the Creator and Ruler of this world; therefore, all of life relates to God, and as a result, Christians should view God in everything they do. When a person adopts this view of the world, seeing God in everything, that person can better understand his or her calling(s) and see the importance of the work he or she is doing. With this view, even the ordinary, “secular” jobs of being a mechanic or a businessman can be seen as callings where a person is called to exemplify Christ at work to those with whom he or she comes in contact.

A third role that the church should play in helping one discern particular calling is helping one identify his or her spiritual gifts, which are alluded to in the Bible and are to be used for service within the church (1 Cor 12-14; Rom 12). It is assumed by some that our gifts and calling are directly connected. Many of those who hold this view tie it directly to calls related to the ministry (Lowe; Reformed Church in America). This role is closely related to the fourth role mentioned above, which is the role of the church in identifying, calling out, and ordaining people to service within the church. Only those with gifts fit for specific roles within the church are the ones identified and called out. Some examples of calling that support this specific role of the church can be found in the Bible. In Acts, there were seven men chosen to serve within the church. They were chosen in order to meet a need that was not being met (widows not getting food). What is important to note here is the role that the disciples, or members of the church, had in this calling. The disciples of the church were the ones responsible for choosing the men to serve, not the other way around (that we know of). They were given qualifications that had to be met: “of good repute, full of the Spirit and of wisdom” (6:3 ESV). After praying and choosing the right men, the disciples laid hands on them, and the men began to fulfill their calling (Acts 6:1-7). Another similar example found in Acts is the sending off of Saul and Barnabas. In this story, the church at Antioch was engaged in corporate worship and fasting when the Holy Spirit spoke to them concerning Saul and Barnabas “for the work to which I [the Holy Spirit] have called them” (13:2 ESV). After hearing the call, those of the church prayed, fasted and laid hands on Saul and Barnabas, and they sent the two off to fulfill God’s call (Acts 13:1-3).

Holderness and Palmer assert that it is the responsibility of the church to identify and call people to ministry within (Holderness and Palmer



2001, 21). Many others hold to this view as well, as it is practiced in many denominations. The Lutherans have a strong practice of this role, clearly defining that “ministers cannot arrogate such authority to themselves, but it must be conferred by the call of the church” (CTCR 1981). Though it varies from one congregation to another, the Lutherans practice a very detailed process of calling members to the ministry. Not only must a person be chosen and called out by the congregation, but that person must undergo special education and training in order to ensure that the candidate is capable and ready for the task. After a person has been called out and properly educated, he is ordained by the congregation, signifying confirmation and giving authority to the new minister (CTCR 2003, 14-15). The Catholic Church also has a practice of helping someone discern a call, but in this tradition it is primarily related to a person who feels he or she may be called to the professional ministry in some way. They have what is called a “House of Discernment” for those considering ministerial priesthood, which is where a person is placed in a structured environment similar to that of a seminary student. During the time at this house, the person is able to practice spiritual discernment on a personal level and get involved in the community (Archdiocese of Anchorage).

The fifth and final role that the church should play in helping one discern particular calling is providing opportunities for someone to serve in various ways. This includes providing areas for someone to explore and experiment with possible positions of service that he or she may feel called to. One practical way that churches could actively fulfill their roles related to the discernment of calling is presented by Holderness and Palmer in their work *Career and Calling*. They strongly emphasized the need for a career counseling ministry within the church, especially geared toward youth and young adults, who are usually the ones struggling with the process of discerning their calling(s). This book is actually a curriculum guide for such a ministry, which they believe many churches lack. They firmly believe that “the church can offer young people and young adults an opportunity to discover who they are as God’s beloved created ones, to recognize how God is present in their lives, and to explore the unique fits, abilities, and interests that God has given them” (Holderness and Palmer 2001, 1). They provide many convincing reasons for why there is a great need for this ministry and for why it should be integrated into all churches. They emphasize the fact that God’s call is discovered in community through friends, mentors, and other trusted adults within the church (Holderness and Palmer 2001, 78).

There is not much disagreement among writers, pastors, and theologians that the church has a major role to fulfill in the process of helping others discern their calling(s). However, though there are some organizations that primarily exist around this very principle, it does not seem to be a

primary teaching or practice implemented in many local churches today. Many Christians may be very active in their local congregation but have no concept or understanding of what it means to be “particularly” called by God, which is one of the many responsibilities of the church. Perhaps there needs to be more education among churches as to what those specific roles should be and how to begin practicing them.

## **Methods**

The method used in this study to collect primary data was interview. This method was chosen based on the view that the experience of other people related to calling is very helpful and beneficial in the research of this subject, as well as in the discernment process of others in trying to find their calling(s). Since an understanding of calling is based primarily off of the experience of others, it is important to continue to collect useful primary data. Due to time constraints, only one interview was conducted; however, support from other interviews conducted by others in the class was also used in this study. The only requirement for the interview was that the interviewee felt that he was doing something in his life because God wanted him to do it. It was recommended that the interviewee not be clergy, since those in that position tend to have a previous knowledge of “calling,” and would most likely be familiar with the religious terminology associated with the subject. In the interview, the questions asked did not use the terms “call” or “calling” unless the interviewee used that language himself. All names and identifying markers have been changed in an effort to keep the identity of the interviewees confidential.

The goal of the interview was to get solid, concrete data related to various experiences that he had with calling. The questions asked were related to how he came to a realization of his calling(s), and specific detail surrounding that realization. Questions were also asked related to the churches that he has been a member of and the role that they have played in his calling experience in an attempt to gain solid support for this study. In analyzing the data gained from the interview, special attention was given to the interviewee’s beliefs about calling, especially in relation to what others have said about it. Any emotions, feelings, or special “sensing” related to the calling experience was also analyzed. Attention was given to things such as gifts, talents, affirmation, “de-affirmation,” and opportunities related to the calling experience, as those have often been tied to calling.

## **Data Relevant to the Question**

In analyzing the interviews done among the class, there were data relevant to the question about the roles of the church in helping one discern

particular calling. In relation to the first point made above that the church should be a safe and loving environment where people feel welcome to participate and share experiences with one another, John Parker, a college baseball coach and active member of the church, mentioned several churches that he has been a part of in his life. He mentioned one that specifically related to this role of the church. This is the church that he is currently a member of and very active in. He says,

It's very evident that it's alive. And when I say "alive," we . . . uh, you know, the people truly and generally . . . generally care about each other. Sometimes they talk about each other behind their back, but much less than normal. Uh, people really, truly want to seek what God wants 'em to do. Our pastor is very strong leadership, very sincere, genuine human being who is not just a great preacher but a great minister - ministers to all the people. And the people of our church are very willing to help each other, to serve each other, to serve their church, and it's very outreach-oriented and to making sure that we're not about serving ourselves and trying to meet our goals and make our numbers, but that we're really trying to bring people to the cross. And there's just a spirit there during the services and, um, in interactions in small groups where you can really feel that the Holy Spirit's there because people are truly . . . um, humbly wanting to serve. They're far from perfect. I'm far from perfect. There's always things people chit-chat about . . . , but all in all, it's a very spiritually alive, Bible-based church (John Parker, interview by author, November 5, 2010).

He specifically mentions the care that everyone has for each other, which is key for a church to be a safe and loving environment. He mentions the attitude of service that everyone has, wanting to help each other in any way possible, and most importantly wanting to follow God's will. These ideas relate to what others have said in relation to this first point as demonstrated earlier (LaReau 2003). When members of a church have this attitude, they will be open to share with each other about their life experiences, and according to Holderness and Palmer, as well as others, this is a very useful part in the role of the church in discernment of one's calling. In another interview, Mike Davis, pastor of Lucia Baptist Church, mentioned his church playing a role in affirming or de-affirming his gifts and perceived callings. He says, "So my, my grasp of calling came out of Bible study and prayer *and listening to the body of Christ in affirmations or non-affirmations in different areas that I had tried in ministry*" [emphasis added]. He does not go into explaining exactly what he means by that, but it is evidence that the church played a role in his discernment (Mike Davis, interview by Matt Webb, November 16, 2010).

In relation to the second role of the church as defined above, the discipleship of believers, John Parker discussed the importance of growing up in church. He mentioned that he was very involved in church as a youth, which provided a good foundation for him. He also mentioned that several different churches that he has been a member of, which all vary in denomination, have taught him things about faith and how to live as a Christian. In regards to this he said,

Well, I think, . . . um, that we've had the benefit of being non-denominational, in that, my wife was raised Lutheran; I was raised Presbyterian. Since we've gotten married we've been a member of a Presbyterian church, a Lutheran church, a Methodist church, and a Baptist church. So each of those very strong religious traditions has influenced us in some way that allowed us to grow that I wouldn't have if I had just been Presbyterian all my life, or Baptist all my life, or Methodist, or Lutheran, or whatever. And so I think, . . . um, the experience that we've had has been very, um . . . . God's moved us around a lot, and...and, you know, we would definitely say some churches have been better for us than others, but I wouldn't say that any of 'em didn't help us grow. I learned a lot of things when we joined the Lutheran church about some of the, uh . . . , some of the rituals, some of the things we did during services that have influenced me to this day that I really appreciate being exposed to. Same with the Methodist; same with the Presbyterian; and now Baptist, too (John Parker, interview by author, November 5, 2010).

Here, he stresses the influence that each one of those churches has had in his life, which seems to have helped him discern his callings. He specifically mentions the teachings and rituals learned in the Lutheran church, as well as others that still affect him today. These teachings and practices fall under the category of discipleship. The main emphasis of discipleship is scriptural teaching and practice. Churches should be strong in this area, as it is very important in the growth and maturity of a believer. This was affirmed in the literature researched, as well (Schuurman 2004; Holderness and Palmer 2001). One thing that John mentioned in his interview was that "even though I was a Christian when I was 20, I don't think I had a clear understanding of what a calling was." As mentioned above, this is the responsibility of the church to teach its members, which some of his churches did not do specifically. He mentioned that he later realized through various situations that he was called to different roles in life, and that the focus of those should be to honor Christ. He no longer viewed calling as something that he decided for himself to secure his future. Another important component of discipleship is the

actual practice of going to church and participating in the church. While relating an experience he had with discerning his call to missions, he talks about receiving and hearing the call while he was sitting in a church service. The way the message came was through the speaker that day. Mike Davis, in his interview, also mentioned several times that the Holy Spirit speaks through the church, among other ways, which he gathered from Henry Blackaby's book *Experiencing God*. This very thing was mentioned in another person's interview as well, which he went on to explain that some ways God speaks through the church may be through a sermon or a song (Henry Tome, interview by Josh Gardner, November 7, 2010).

In some of the interviews, there was evidence of the church identifying spiritual gifts within people, which helped those people find their calling. More specifically, John Parker mentions the pastor of one of his previous churches pointing out his gifts and actually providing opportunities for him to use those gifts, which relates to the fifth role of the church mentioned above. Regarding this he said,

Specifically, I think the Methodist church and the pastor out of there was very encouraging to me that you have a gift, you speak, you lead, you, um, you could be lead in this capacity, and... He actually wanted me to go a little bit more bi-vocational and actually be the pastor of a real small church, but I didn't feel like God was leading me to that. I felt like God was leading me to go speak at a lot of different ones. And so that's how that church influenced me because that's what I ended up doin', and I know that's what I was supposed to do. Uh, now, in the Baptist church it's fairly similar, though I don't go speak at other churches too much. I do get calls a lot to do that, and I think the denomination is very open to that, and I kinda . . . . I don't think I realized that before I got involved in those churches (John Parker, interview by author, November 5, 2010).

He talked about the specific influence of a pastor pointing out his gifts and actually having opportunities within the church to use those gifts, which is very important. He also mentions being able to use them in other churches and denominations that he has been a part of. In another interview, a man mentioned the feedback he got from people in the church *after* he had discovered and accepted his call.

Um, at the time when I finally accepted the call to ministry, I can also recall things that Sunday school teachers said and that other people externally say, um, you know, "we knew for years; you just had to discover it for yourself" and so there was a lot of external

affirmation that, you know, “we saw this in you before you saw it in you” and so that’s why people I thought would be surprised by it really weren’t surprised by it. And, therefore, it becomes not only the internal peace but the external peace that basically affirms that what I experienced was a real one (Dr. Johnson, interview by Trevor Pusey, November 25, 2010).

In this experience, he does not specifically mention whether these people told him what they saw in him as he was in the process of discerning his calling, but whether they did or did not, feedback from others, especially those within the church can be very helpful. As Holderness and Palmer note, it is important for others to identify our gifts and call others to ministry within (Holderness and Palmer 2001, 21). As a pastor Mike Davis said that he seeks to help people “find their place in the world,” which is related to helping them identify their gifts (Mike Davis, interview by Matt Webb, November 16, 2010). Another instance that supports this idea of the church identifying gifts of others, and taking the responsibility of telling those people and providing opportunities of service was found in the interview with Henry Tome. He recounts a specific instance when the church extended a call to him and he accepted it at that point in time.

And honestly, I felt, um, I don’t know how much I felt called to First Baptist (his church) but in retrospect I feel like God called me to First Baptist and even to the role of chairman of deacons at the time that He did. And I prob’ly did sense a call to be chairman of deacons that, that was the first time I had ever been a deacon. I’d been asked before if I’d be willing to serve and I’d always said no and for the first time I felt like the answer should be yes that I should be willing to serve in that capacity and, um, I really can’t say why I had never felt that it was right for me before; but I, you know, I didn’t want to do it just to be doing it, and I never felt like it was that God was calling me to it but that time I did, of course, we were in a state of, uh...conflict and, uh, then, you know, when I was elected and began serving and we were picking a chairman, I never served as a deacon before and here they are asking me to serve as chairman but, um, you know, I ended up being co-chair with Larry and in retrospect I definitely think that God called me to that role at that time (Henry Tome, interview by Josh Gardner, November 7, 2010).

This experience re-emphasizes the role of the church in identifying and calling out others, which directly related to what the literature said about this subject (Holderness and Palmer, CTCR, Archdiocese of Anchorage).

In relation to the role of the church in providing opportunities for people to serve and explore their gifts, and even use those gifts as one tries to discern where or how to use them, there was some evidence found in the interviews to support this point. John Parker talks about the support of his church and the role that they have played in his discernment of callings, especially his calling to missions. It was mentioned above that he was in church when he initially accepted the call to missions, but he also mentioned that he has a call to be a leader in various circumstances, and he has also been able to exercise that calling within his church. On more than one occasion he mentions the influence and support of his pastors and the role that they have played in his process of calling. Regarding his current pastor and his current church, he discussed the way in which they have enabled him to live out his calling to missions, which has developed the more he has had opportunity to do so.

My church has been . . . have been great, and I think, again, it comes from the leadership of my pastor who is very missions-oriented, very outreach-oriented, and every time I've felt led to do something missions, I get this outpouring of support. There's probably a couple voices behind the scenes that are going, "Why do we need to be going all the way to the Dominican when we got people in this county that . . . and in this church that need help?" But our pastor believes very deeply if somebody's led to serve others that he's going to find a way to help him make it happen. So our church has been great about being supportive either by sending people or doing money or fundraisers or prayer chains, all the things that they can do (John Parker, interview by author, November 5, 2010).

Without the support and opportunities to serve within his church, he would not be able to live out this calling that he senses, nor would that calling be able to grow stronger. In the interview of Mike Davis, he recalls a time when he was 15 where he had opportunities to speak within his church. At this point he had just become a Christian and was continuing to grow in the faith, not yet having a sense of particular calling. He discussed how these opportunities to speak helped him discover his gift for speaking, which eventually led him to become a pastor. Later on, he also mentioned a time when he was encouraged to teach a preschool Sunday school class. He tried it out and discovered that he was not exactly fit for that aspect of ministry. This demonstrates the importance of having opportunities to experiment and serve and explore various areas of ministry that one might be called to. This helps in the discernment through both positive experiences and negative

experiences. This is one of the main arguments set forth by Holderness and Palmer in their ministry curriculum, claiming that it is important for the church to provide an environment and opportunities for Christians to serve within the church (Holderness and Palmer 2001).

## Implications of the Data

It should be noted that this research stems from a Christian perspective, primarily based in Scripture. Based on this perspective, it is assumed that the church should, in fact, have a role and be involved in the process of discerning particular calling in the lives of believers. This assumption is based off of Scripture as well as other literature that provides data supporting such a claim. Part of this assumption is found in the various practices defined, such as discipleship, which cannot be done without being a part of a church community.

One aspect of the church's role in the calling(s) of individuals that was not discussed in this study was its specific roles *after* one has discovered his or her calling(s). The focus was its role *before* and *during* this process of discovery. Another aspect that was not discussed in this research was the idea of affirmation or confirmation, whether positive or negative, and the specific and practical ways that that relates to calling. It was acknowledged that this aspect exists and seems to be a part of others' experiences related to calling, but further research should be done to determine the more specific ways in which that relates to calling, whether directly or indirectly.

One implication of this research is that some churches, though "Christian" may not have a proper understanding of God's will or the role that the community of believers should play in the lives of its members. If a church does not have a proper practice of discipleship, including teaching and practice, then their understanding of calling may be misconstrued. In order for churches to live out these roles, they must have a proper understanding of their call(s) in the world as church bodies. For the sake of this study, those communal calls were not researched or discussed, but that subject did come up, and should be an important understanding of the church body in order to play a positive role in the lives of believers. It was assumed in this study that God's "will" and true "calling" are synonymous based on the interchangeable use of those terms in the sources included in this study. It might be useful for someone to research the connectedness between the two and the extent to which they are related.

## Conclusions

The purpose of this research was to try to provide a clearer understanding of what the roles of the church should be in helping a Christian



discern his or her particular calling. Although there were several sources that asserted that the church does have a role in this process, they did not clearly define what those roles are in practical terms. The five roles stated above were defined based on a collection of literature that related to each of those roles, including Scripture, as well as data gained from the experience of others in their discernment process. Most, if not all, of these roles had a part in some person's experience as they came to a realization of their calling(s). Based on the information collected, those roles are (1) providing a safe and loving community where people feel welcome, (2) the discipleship of believers, (3) helping believers discern their spiritual gifts, (4) identifying, calling, and ordaining people to service within the church, and (5) providing opportunities of service for those in the process of discerning their calling(s). Though there may be other ways in which the church can more specifically play a role in the discernment of one's calling(s), these five roles were the main ideas found and supported from this research. These roles are meant to be universal for all Bible-based traditions, though there may be some more specific differences in how each of these roles is implemented.

This study attempts to provide a helpful resource for those concerned with the church's roles in this process, as well as those still needing discernment, as there has not been much research specific to this subject. In addition, this research hopes to increase awareness of this subject and inspire others to make this a focus in their churches. The subject of calling and what it means should be taught in churches, and the importance of discerning calling should be stressed so that believers are functioning within God's will. These days there are many people who constantly struggle with their purpose in life, or what it is they should be doing. This applies to Christians and non-Christians alike, but if the church is living out its calling(s), these people can be reached, discipled, and taught how to discern God's will for their lives.

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## The Vision

Steven Calabrese

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### Introduction

From psychology we know that the infantile mind is blank, dormant until cognitions can form. The void surrounding us is lifted as familiarity appears through the repetition of things. I believe that the children reared in this technological age often retain blurry images of the natural world; never failing to express proper emotions, they often produce very vivid imagery. A child expresses with art a capacity to abandon objectivity, as if to entertain an underdeveloped subconscious. The child's random scribbling and crudely rendered shapes do not accurately represent any true form, but can summon certain feelings within us. This probably explains my attraction to Cy Twombly's work. There is something oddly interesting about a grown man who can draw and paint like a kid. Rhoda Kellogg explores reoccurring patterns in children's artwork, and how the scratching of linear marks may contain the capacity to create visual stimulation within the artist<sup>1</sup>. The act of making art this way not only energizes the artist, but provides the viewer with the unique intimacy of an artist's self-exploration. One might also add that the artist is then gratified when energy is exchanged between the viewer and the piece itself. The work tells what the artist, in some ways, cannot.

I am finding that children are creatively sterile in most cases, relying on television to create for them the stimulation they need for inspiration. There are many adults who base their political views on the channels they watch, which is very sad if you think about it. People who create patterns in viewing television are constantly barraged by repetitive imagery of consumer products and the ever-degrading pop culture in which they dwell. People are pressured by everything around them, especially the media, numbed into cash-blowing zombies. But are people still into buying art? With the recent recession, I'm thinking that art is the last thing people are lining up to buy.

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<sup>1</sup> Rhoda Kellogg, *Analyzing Children's Art* (Palo Alto, CA: National Press Books, 1969), 87.

## Beginnings

My home was always very friendly to the notion of pursuing art, and my drawings covered the fridge as if to bless the significance of their having been created, much like museums must work for major artwork. A Crayola masterpiece could become equivalent to the sports trophies I had never chased. I compare where I'm at as an artist to my childhood drawings, how expression used to be so uncomplicated. Back then I had more time to myself, and no bias towards any particular imagery. I believe when you go through puberty, a redirection of goals occurs. During grade school you are told that art won't pay the *bills*, things that one learns about early on when the mail begins to piss off your folks. If art were the way to go, it had to be able to pay the bills. I think that my urge to create comes from the pressure to succeed. However, I am from an area of the south where you can be made to think that art is pointless. I began to dwell on the idea of architecture instead. Building large-scale is respectable right? It requires artistic thought, pays well, and yet it has a masculinity comparable to contracting. What could be more fulfilling?

Frank Lloyd Wright's work stood out to me at the time. I was fascinated with how living spaces could be formed around the land without



Fig. 1. Frank Lloyd Wright, *Falling Water*, Mill Run, PA, 1939.

redirecting it, such as with *Falling Water* completed in 1939 (Fig. 1). I had taken a few drafting classes at a local community college during high school in order to receive college credit. I wasn't really afraid of math since I had been doing well in a few calculus and statistics courses at Gardner-Webb. Like many college students, I went back and forth on my concentration. However, my desire to pursue architecture ended after

a semester at North Carolina State University. I had spent time painting and drawing at Gardner-Webb prior to my time at N.C. State, and I wanted a portfolio that would grant a swift transfer into the program. My application was rejected however, but as consolation, I was admitted into the art and humanities program until I could gain enough ground to pursue the architecture program. But being in Raleigh was starting to look more and more like a bad idea, and the time away from a painting studio had sterilized me of a certain level of creativity that had been unexpectedly realized while at Gardner-Webb. I saw my paintings on the floor of my apartment, frightened that I hadn't made any imagery since leaving Boiling Springs. I felt I was going numb, and I had to leave at that time in order to give my art a chance

in a more familiar environment. I applied for psychological withdrawal by complaining of severe depression in N.C. State's counseling department and was approved for a late dismissal. I was headed home in no time at all.

My freshman and sophomore years of college were spent in Boiling Springs, North Carolina at Gardner-Webb University. I believe it was during my first painting course that I had challenged myself to unlearn any sort of impression art had made on me up until that point. Everything I thought art to ever be had to take a backseat in order to actually study it. I adopted a philosophy much like gestalt, which celebrates the holistic qualities of seeing and responding when painting from life. I was appropriately challenged, as I was too stuck on what my mind wanted to see instead of what was really in front of me. I became under the influence of this niche, realizing that I was representational as an artist. My earlier work borrowed from Nineteenth Century Viennese Expressionist Egon Schiele, whose art caught my eye from the start. His color tainted as if pertaining to fecal matter or bodily fluids—disgusting, lustful, and yet very bold. It was far more authentic than the soft pink, ideal skin tones and refined robust shapes and curves I had seen more of prior to Expressionism in Europe. Schiele's figures had this emaciated feel to them as if the subject was starved prior to posing. Typically, the artists in Schiele's circle took to the skinnier model for most figurative renderings. Anorexia was seen as a sign of hysteria—a popular theme in a time when the psychology of religious belief systems could be observed in works such as Gustav Klimt's *Judith* of 1901 (Fig. 2)<sup>2</sup>. For me, Schiele was sadly more honest at portraying human nature than art had done as a whole up until the Succession. During my infatuation with Schiele's work, I enjoyed art containing the figure, especially nudes where it was impossible to hide any insecurities that the model may have had. It was not so much about the model's social class and age, but in how honest the emotions were empathetically revealed through the artist.



Fig. 2. Gustav Klimt, *Judith*.

Raw emotion and embarrassment began to surface in the flesh tones that I mixed for my own work. Schiele worked so intensely in self-portraiture throughout his entire short-lived career (Fig. 3), which had an influence on

<sup>2</sup> Rodolphe Rapetti, *Symbolism* (Flammarion, 2006), 263.



Fig. 3. Egon Schiele, *Self-Portrait With Arm Twisted Above Head*, watercolor and graphite on paper, 1910.

my work. The clearer that I could see myself as I was, the better I could render images of other figures, objects, etc. My work began oddly possessing Schiele-like qualities as I progressed with my studies. The way in which I cropped my images portrayed the “fleeting glance” as Schiele had done in his many portraits resembling amputee victims due to harsh margins<sup>3</sup>. Nothing about these compositions leaves enough room for storytelling, which opposes my current work. My earlier work was often timidly handled in order to feel around for my signature mark. Just as I was feeling that I had begun to make sense of my drawing abilities, I received word on my application to North Carolina State. Painting and drawing took backseat, as architecture took the

wheel. As an art form itself, architecture dealt heavily with design solutions in order to create something fresh, yet I had divided my head between the science of building and the organic fluidity involved in painting. My best guess was that I needed the larger state school experience for social reasons.



Fig. 4. Steven Calabrese, *Self-Portrait*, watercolor and graphite on paper, 2005.

While at State, I realized how disillusioned I had become having left an important book unfinished at home. I filed for psychological withdrawal, packed up my things, and returned home, where I thought I could begin to study art. Back at Gardner-Webb University as an undergraduate, art had become my crutch. All of my previous doubts had allowed me to use my art as a sort of ‘life jacket’. The self-portraits and figure studies allowed me to focus in on a certain style that I was developing, which made my compositions somewhat more interesting. My marks and washes were so full of anxious energy that I was driven to evolve the process even further. My art had possessed me, making it very psychological to produce

work such as *Self-Portrait* of 2005 (Fig. 4). The paintings were becoming more like the real me and less of the illustrated, ideal me. I was becoming very self-aware through the whole process. Schiele often used self-portraiture to

<sup>3</sup> Wolfgang Georg Fischer and Egon Schiele, *Egon Schiele: 1890-1918: Desire and Decay* (Hong Kong: Taschen, 2007), 51.

document his life--no matter how private the reality of his actions, nor how “unsettling the ego”<sup>4</sup>. The act of painting one’s self is something very exciting to grasp. It is healthy to experiment with how to achieve a more believable reality. You could also say that conducting the self-portraits doubled as a path to self-awareness. My style becomes evident along the way, as I work towards more persuasive pieces.

My style consisted of jagged lines and faded color-washes, which had given my work its own signature. Art for me is the constant continuation of the artist’s expression; a cycle of progression that provides your artwork the room to evolve, whilst retaining consistency. I do not compromise on the original idea, nor distract from the overall outcome. I would know if I needed to make adjustments to my work without assuming there should be. The stopping point for any given piece became more evident, everything reduced to a simple balancing act. Taking breaks from working helped me to avoid stagnation and disillusionment. Combining mediums had also helped tremendously, as my pencil often informed my brush. After looking so hard at expressionism, I longed for my paintings to include drawing as well. As a senior, I spent a lot of time looking at my art and where it had taken me along with the newfound interests in sculpture and printmaking.

At this stage, I often think about how much I’ve dissolved in order to gain. A new process of art making had begun for me. A constant balancing act between organization and impulsive intuition was necessary to achieve what I had in mind for my latest work. I wanted something childish to take place with the art. Something instinctual. According to Kellogg’s take on Freud, the adult artist will strive to invoke primary processes that allow him or her to recover pieces of a lost childhood. This “primary energy” builds until the individual feels compelled to create<sup>5</sup>.

I realized, however, that I was merely scratching the surface with my painting and drawing. I began to imagine what lay beyond the flatness of the two-dimensional surface. What I was offered to think about next was the possibility to create something that you could actually touch. There is always something more interesting about getting to walk around a three-dimensional piece. Painting struggles to bring the viewer the ability to penetrate the surface of the canvas in order to become part of the space. Artist Louise Bourgeois had once said that sculpture contained a certain “fantastical reality”, something that painting lacked<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> Fischer and Schiele, *Egon Schiele*, 147.

<sup>5</sup> Rhoda Kellogg, *Analyzing Children’s Art* (Palo Alto: National, 1969), 233.

<sup>6</sup> Mignon Nixon and Louise Bourgeois, *Fantastic Reality: Louise Bourgeois and a Story of Modern Art* (Cambridge: MIT, 2005), 83.

## Sculptural Ideas

### *Spiders and Findings*

I made my first sculptures from clay, which were figurative of course, in between painting and sketching my girlfriend Joanne. I was bored with the usual outcomes on my canvases and assorted papers, and became more enamored by the possibilities of working three-dimensionally. My sculptural studies had informed my two-dimensional ones, which really excited me. I was often impressed by the artists who could transcend the dimensions of working, that an artist could paint and sculpt, and never depart from the original voice he or she possessed. I looked at several careers of artists whose art I'd been influenced by. I was enamored by Cy Twombly, and how he would often unify his sculptural works with runny blankets of off-white. The purity of Twombly's whites cleansed his found objects, highlighting damages to their surfaces as well as assign new meanings<sup>7</sup>. He would often call this white paint his "marble"; a reference to a medium that had documented the entire history of Mediterranean art and mythology was invoked here as a way of bestowing feelings of authenticity to his work<sup>8</sup>.

Time usually becomes a factor within my own pieces as found objects typically go into framing and building. I would also develop a crush on altering surfaces with primer and oil staining. Twombly's *Untitled* of 1985 (Fig. 5) from a collection of sculpture in Rome demonstrates this point with



Fig. 5. Cy Twombly, *Untitled*, wood and oils, 1985.

its rudimentary forms and obvious rough handling<sup>9</sup>. For me, the wear and tear of his objects demonstrated something nostalgic about his work. I usually chose gesso as a base, and then dirtied its starkness with some sort of dim tint. This sort of distress gave me ways to make my two dimensional pieces say more as I began to assemble shadow-box frames ornate with items such as moss, random relics, or bone. I believe I must have seen quite a few Cornell boxes in my course of studying art, which could have contributed to this fancy. Displaying

found objects and preserved organics are characteristics of recording time and memory. Thoughts and emotions are woven into the overall schematic. The painting has room to tell stories at this point. This was how I began a

<sup>7</sup> Katharina Schmidt, *Cy Twombly: Die Skulptur* (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2000), 87.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, 49.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*, 87.



journey into an aesthetic based on the private amalgam of what I had seen and heard those somber years during the illness and death of my father. I knew I had to do more than simply paint, and my father had only stayed long enough to see me sculpt two clay heads.

I made quite a few model egg pouches after researching spiders; a period in which I produced several paintings that would support a distant senior art show. I had the opportunity to use my interest in spiders to guide my three-dimensional pieces. At this point I had started looking at Cy Twombly and Helen Frankenthaler, as I had sought out influences from other artists that could lend a hand in solving some of the problems I was having at the time. Frankenthaler seems to paint with an extremely large composition in mind almost every time it came to paint application. I enjoyed her methods consisting of spilling paint on the canvas and rubbing it out in order to achieve random blocks of wash. Twombly's graffiti style of drawing and painting also struck a chord with me as I saw how depth could be created out of random scribbling; translating space into marks that rivaled the characteristics of writing. I believe the process probably felt more like large-scale cursive handwriting. It was Twombly's sculpture that had spoken to me in the boldest sense. In the midst of opening doors to a new dimension of creating, I had felt the desire to organize a body of work that would not only be my first serious attempt at a series, but a comprehensive oeuvre that I could lure the viewer in with every time. My theme comprised of diverse nostalgic art references combined with my shifting outlook on the world. It came to me in a very strange light.

Working within such a quiet theme has its challenges. For example, the spider theme in current work hides personal feelings of anxiety along with natural observations of the subject. As a child I remember having a strange fixation on bugs and small creatures like frogs and lizards. I used to watch them carry out their lives, and I enjoyed learning from them. The spider theme in my current work pays homage to my childhood, as well as the artist in me. The species differ, yet all rely on methods of trickery. The webs themselves are very indicative of their lives. Some do not even rely on webs at all. I wanted to play with the subject's capacity to narrate, but also maintain a dualism of both soothing and disturbing emotions. In my current work, it is important for the viewer to realize he or she is looking at art, yet possess something chillingly spiritual. Comparing the immortal spirit to a decomposing earth is interesting, and no doubt part of my creative process. The aesthetic I often aim for is harvested from reflections on life and death.

I enjoy thinking that my subject matter confronts Platonic and Aristotelian thought. The ethereal line between abandoning the senses and relying on them is where I want to locate the current work. If I empirically observe different arachnid species, their individual forms do not produce

a general representation of a spider. So, the spider that I represent does not have to be every spider there ever was or ever will be. We as people are not interesting collectively, but individually; we possess something more intimately interesting—a story. The particulars among objects produce more emotional reactions. I enjoyed worn-out, memory-loaded objects because they allowed time to become a constant in my sculptural designs, and often yield interesting contrasts between organic and man-made.

The interplay of time and the absence of such create an interesting mood. My painterly input is reduced to sifting through the colors of similarly cut bead-board that I might find some place in order to put together frames. The time the wood spent being part of a home, all the way to exposure to the elements allows me to discern what is interesting to recover from the site. I understand how capable the mind is of wandering, and if I ever wanted anything from this sort of contrast, it would be for the viewer to spend time making up their own stories to go along with the work. This is how art should be. I am currently working from a muted palette and a very subtle contrast between texture and shape. I never feel I need to force information into my work in order for it to feel authentic; the most desired effects usually come in the most serendipitous ways. I needed to feel I could make something more interesting with no more than scraps and neutral color. I took this notion and applied it to the third dimension in order to satisfy a sculptural desire that existed for me at that time.

My once exuberant, emotive color has become paler as my art appears to praise minimalist ideas. The work that I was looking at just prior to painting *Three Left at Dawn* was that of Helen Frankenthaler. I enjoyed the random, overlapping color patches of *Madame Butterfly* from 2000 (Fig. 6). In my opinion, there lies more imagination with Frankenthaler's work than with her harder-edged contemporaries such as Ad Reinhardt, Frank Stella, and Kenneth Noland of the 1950s. *Madame Butterfly* possesses a spiritual ambiance achieved by the subtractive process of woodcut. Frankenthaler's technique of spilling oil paint and cleaning it back up with solvents are mimicked

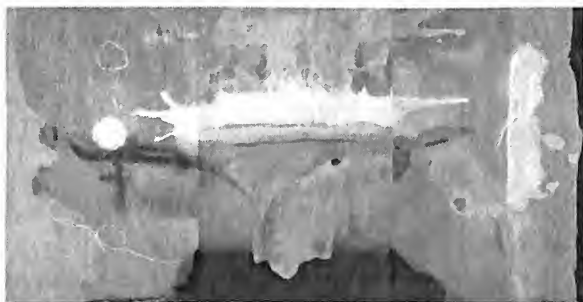


Fig. 6. Helen Frankenthaler, *Madame Butterfly*, woodcut with crayon, 2000.

here, while occasionally adding crayon to create her line. In the end, the imagery reads as an atmospheric entity that swirls up from a center panel and onto two surrounding panels.

I tend to appreciate minimalism, but I never really get past its 'freshness.' The found

materials used in the art that I was most interested in were antiqued and often in the beginning stages of rot, so I decided to avoid seamlessness. The worn-out wood that I had collected came from homes that had become embarrassingly incapable of sustaining life. I remember that I had picked wall panels from one home in particular containing markings from a child who had presumably lived there. The house was dead, but its memories were not. I had to incorporate this material for its nostalgic value. The minimalists tend to use objects that carry little to no detail, as if to simply insert that the object before you manifested on its own, or simply to limit the amount of information being read. There would be no sign of the artist's hand in most cases, nor would there be evidence of that which held the piece together. I could allow for detail, but I had ideas to maintain a simplistic atmosphere left over from the minimal art I had seen. My intervening in the object's decay where it resides is to discern exactly how I would like for my forms to ultimately appear; the level of natural damage equals the amount of tarnish needed. For Twombly, "the inclusion of found objects meant that the thing starts off with an existence, an object-hood of its own"<sup>10</sup>. My paintings are achieved from a different process than how I build however. This may also be the case for Twombly, who chose not to paint during his sculptural workings<sup>11</sup>.

## Working: Process and Results

### Painting



Fig. 7. Steven Calabrese, *Lycosidae*, acrylic and graphite on board, 2008.



Fig. 8. Steven Calabrese, *Loxosceles*, acrylic on canvas, 2009.

While briefly dabbling in sculpture, I had found that my paintings were changing at an odd rate. I knew that working three dimensionally was allowing me to question the way that I had left painting, and what it had meant to me. I was burning to paint again with all this new energy to work with. My images were slowly becoming more refined, noticeably so in the differences between *Lycosidae* of 2008 (Fig. 7) and *Loxosceles* of 2009 (Fig. 8). These two

<sup>10</sup> Schmidt, *Die Skulptur*, 79.

<sup>11</sup> Schmidt, *Die Skulptur*, 67.

paintings differ in energy, and as result you see more texture in *Lycosidae* with regards to the overall image. Texture was something I was trying to limit in this particular piece by cleaning up my brushstroke. However, *Lycosidae* is one of two pieces that I blew up from notebook-size observational sketches in acrylic and pencil on board. I meant for the larger pieces to serve more as large color studies. If one uses a limited amount of information and then blows it up, a distortion occurs in the overall schematic. For example, computer imagery becomes severely pixilated by enlarging an image past its original size. What would occur if we blew up a painting beyond its original size with another, larger painting?

What resulted was an assortment of marks from a variety of brush sizes, but more notably an overall simplification of the form occurred. In my opinion this was a sufficient step in making more interesting compositions. *Loxosceles* attempts to possess a photographic boldness, yet is disrupted by painterly aspects. Its paint runs allow the viewer to read the piece as a painting along with graphite and a hint of brushstroke that add such marks as the lush green on the spider's leg. I wanted the starkness of the silhouette to be engulfed by the melodic whiteness of the background to make the image somewhat stimulating, and not so repulsive. However, I understand repulsion is imminent as it is natural to fear the proposed object—its shape and color being similar to that of *Loxosceles reclusa*, the 'brown recluse.' Both paintings explore natural subjects, but speak more about my mood while painting during a pivotal moment in my evolution as an artist. Where one piece holds almost an electrostatic character, the other stays perfectly still. These works make statements about motion and rest—actuality and potential.



Fig. 9. Steven Calabrese, *Three Left at Dawn*, acrylic on canvas, 2009.

In comparing vibrations from both *Three Left at Dawn* of 2009 (Fig. 9) and *You Cannot Remove Me From This Place* of 2009 (Fig. 10), one can instantly note a difference in the choice and handling of materials. Two things that make both of these works similar are that both are stenciled, and both are explorations of positive and negative space. *You Cannot Remove Me From This Place* began with drawings from a

spider I had caught, where I selected a single drawing to use positively and negatively as my design. I took some flat sheets of waxed paper, and with white paint, traced the silhouettes of my drawings by adding or removing

space concerning the form. I crinkled the waxed paper as if to throw it away, and just as did, I laid it against a black ground in order to increase the visibility of the detail. The crinkling gave a knotted, web-like depth, comparable to an electricity storm. Here, the spider's presence never leaves our sight without seemingly having been cut from its original surface, which is what made me think of the title. I played with this idea by adding egg sacs fashioned from balled-up, blue painter's tape and gesso, then displayed in a white viewing case positioned over the painting. The arrangement of the eggs in the narrow, rectangular cavity helped vibrate the eye back and forth from panel to panel. I chose the eggs because I wanted to display a continual cycle; that these creatures may die independently, but that their essence is ever present.

Most of our homes are never without those dusty, little, off-white balls in the corners of our rooms. A spider's eggs are the lifelines to an entire lineage. Like the shape of the uneven eggs, the process is organic, yet circular; always returning to a point of origin and

forward. *You Cannot Remove Me From This Place* contains a feeling that is comparable to that of a sound loop in my opinion, its progress always skipping and returning to the same place.

*Three Left At Dawn* is meant to convey a serene ambiance that seemingly takes place outside of any representational environment. The harmony throughout the diptych comes from a diluted palette of blue-violets, and earth tones applied in washes. I had been looking heavily at Frankenthaler's work at the time, and I wanted to create an optical blend that would give me a sense of 'bright white' using colors that were never purely white. There are positive and negative flows, accompanied by complimentary subtleties that create its ephemeral atmosphere. I took pictures of young *Pholcus phalangioides* spiderlings (known as 'granddaddy longlegs') that had clustered inside of a jar. I started selecting the spiderlings in groups of three, searching for the perfect group from the images that would maintain the balance of the diptych. I adjusted the scale of the image and transferred the forms to my canvases in a few layers of stark white. The environment is very subtle in contrast to the forms up front, which exist in the receding planes. These playful forms trickle into a light that emanates toward some new place we cannot follow.

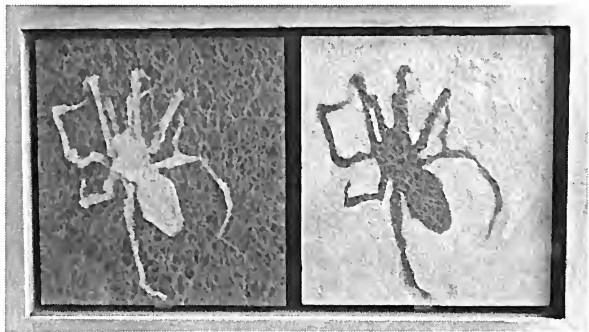


Fig. 10. Steven Calabrese, *You Cannot Remove Me From This Place*, acrylic on waxed paper, 2009.

The title *Three Left At Dawn* came from imagining the journey of the spiders leaving the nest to start their own webs, and from a professor's suggestion that the scene is occurring at dawn based on the color scheme. I left the surface drained of color, but not substance. The arrangement of found wood paneling into a frame gave a surprisingly crisp, projected edge. The illusion of texture causes the painting to read as relief, providing us with two windows on the moment. The runny paint buildup of this work and that of *Loxosceles* are similar as they are chronological in order; however, the atmosphere of *Three Left At Dawn* appears deeper than that of *Loxosceles*. Another difference is that I use direct observation for *Loxosceles*, which consists of a spider sitting on a white table. The other involves subtraction and a particular level of discernment, not to mention stenciling from photographs. Both of these works seek a photo-crisp representation, which is helped by the environment's relationship with the subject matter in its foreground.



Fig. 11. Steven Calabrese, *Apple Still Life by Candlelight*, oils and graphite on board, 2008.

My painting style had undoubtedly changed since creating imagery such as *Apple Still Life By Candle Light* of 2008 (Fig. 11). I had to use bolder colors in order to render the fruit under a smaller, yet harder light source. The paint had to become thicker than the wash I was used to in order to achieve the sharp contrasts occurring between light and dark. The messy presentation and obvious handling worked nicely when complemented by a sharp realism that occurred with distance from the piece. I enjoyed how the work could exist realistically, yet hold onto a certain level of expressionism almost as if to critique the sterility of realism as a whole. Around the same time that I painted *Apple Still-Life by Candle Light*, I had created two reclining nudes a week apart from each other. The works were of the same model, yet one conveyed calmer emotions than the other, which had

electricity reminiscent of *Lycosidae*.

With these two figurative pieces, both *Untitled* from 2008 (Figs. 12 & 13), I took advantage of an opportunity to break from the spider imagery. These few paintings document the last of an overtly expressive surge prior to creating such works as *Loxosceles* and *Three Left At Dawn*, which take on more minimal characteristics. I did not want to shut the door on the expressive qualities of my paint, as I did not stop using the runs in my pieces; just enough of my style was retained with each transition.



Fig. 12. Steven Calabrese, *Untitled*, acrylic and graphite on board, 2008.



Fig. 13. Steven Calabrese, *Untitled*, acrylic and graphite on board, 2008.

After a long break from painting, it was very interesting to see what messing with sculptural elements had done to inform my paintbrush. I saw an opportunity to treat painting as pseudo-relief. I stretched black canvas over bars, and proceeded to paint without using primer. I had to build the layers of acrylic on top of a very porous surface in order to reveal what hid in the darkness. It is great to get away from white canvases once in a while, plus I came out with very interesting light studies. All of the paintings that resulted from the nighttime observations allowed me to see how non-objective individual components of reality could be made to appear. The light sculptures I had made to resemble egg pouches served as wonderful references for these darker pieces. For *Self-Portrait* (Fig. 14), completed in 2008, I had allowed the studio's environment to swallow me. Prior to this portrait, my face had dominated the picture plane. I intended the same distance for my newest works involving nightly painting binges on my front porch. I had spent an entire summer trying to pinpoint perfect times to paint, and found that nighttime allows for sharper and heavier shadows when you are working from life. I had already begun to study art that worked with darker atmospheres dealing with symbolic, mute themes.





Fig. 14. Steven Calabrese, *Self-Portrait*, watercolor and graphite on paper, 2008.

flower<sup>12</sup>. This fools the insect into landing on the web, making the spider's task that much easier. I saw the stabilimentum as a powerful focus of energy created from practice and ritual. From observation, you can physically see how each spider gets to the mature vertical structure from an erratic radial one created in youth (Fig. 17). It is a lot like painting when you think about it. You practice an action that better produces the attraction to another being.



Fig. 15. Steven Calabrese, *Argiope*, acrylic and crayon on canvas, 2010.

My painting had begun to slur the line of objectivity, starting on my porch those summer nights. Spiders repetitively eat their web every night so to prepare for a new one to support a daylong feeding frenzy among the fruitful butterfly bushes. I portrayed the gestural nature of *Argiope* (Fig. 15) without rendering any defined detail. Without this information, the spider's flat yellow and black markings become very mask-like in most cases. The other design that resembles a Jacob's ladder is the stabilimentum (Fig. 16)—a characteristic of the writing spider's web. A stabilimentum's purpose is to reflect light as if mimicking the presence of a

I began preparing possible canvas surfaces, all stretched in black cotton-duct. I had made a triangular canvas in order to add some sort of ancient, earthly symbolism to the work's aesthetic. After having investigated various myths and religions, I had exciting new ideas about using shapes and symbols in order to add mystery to the work. The aesthetic I had developed was dimly lit, highly atmospheric, and slightly unsettling. Images contained strange people and strange places—all of which are highly obscured. I had enjoyed art from the Symbolist movement, as well as photography from about the same period. These photos would typically involve

the manipulation of interior scenes through several specific alterations in order to reach haunting imagery of the spiritual. In the mid 19th Century,

<sup>12</sup> Rod Preston-Mafham, *The Book of Spiders and Scorpions*, (New York: Crescent, 1991), 97.



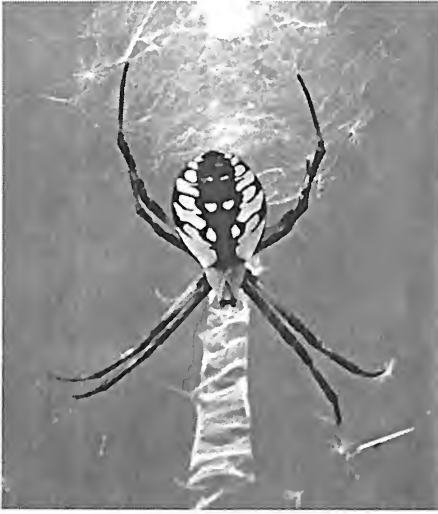


Fig. 16. Mature *Argiope aurantia* with stabilimentum.

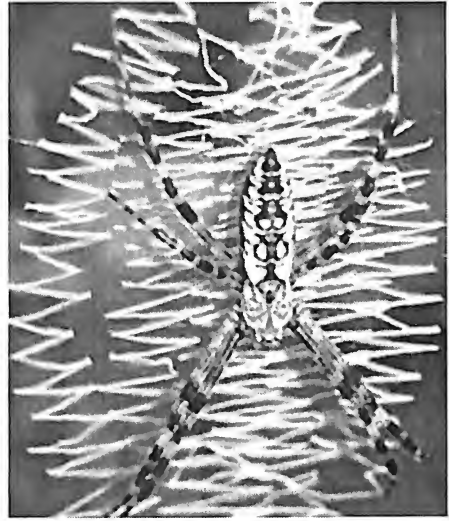


Fig. 17. Immature *Argiope aurantia* with stabilimentum.

many photographers promoted themselves as psychic mediums “whose photographs were entirely capable of capturing the images from the spirit world”<sup>13</sup>. The still-life *Fetish* of 2010 (Fig. 18) explores dimly lit objects that appear to emit heavy spiritual power. Manipulating direction and hard lighting gave me the chance to take a closet still life, and create a still from a horror film—or the painting equivalent. Shadows crawl around walls and drop toward a cut-off created by the draped shelf, which serves to illuminate a definitionless abyss.

Symbolist art is referred to as “the most difficult to pin down” by the *New York Times*, as its elusiveness is often achieved by the artist’s ability to portray dreamlike views on everyday situations<sup>14</sup>. Imagery is kept aloof from any physical explanation, engaging the viewer to truly utilize their imagination—a key component to successful art in my opinion. For me, meditating on the mundane revealed a slightly more bizarre theme beneath the surface of this material world. The feverish reality that the artist typically portrayed was done using odd manipulations of light on everyday objects, confusing the ordinary with the psychic. During the late 19th Century into the early 20th Century, Symbolists such as Odilon Redon, Fernand Khnopff, and Xavier Mellery held onto a “strange weightiness” in the scenes that they would paint<sup>15</sup>. I sought after a similar effect when I used several old photographs that had interested me while working in intaglio.

<sup>13</sup> Clifton D. Bryant, *Handbook of Death and Dying* (Sage, 2008), 995.

<sup>14</sup> Roderick Conway Morris, “The Elusive Symbolist Movement,” *New York Times*, March 16, 2007, Arts section.

<sup>15</sup> Rapetti, *Symbolism*, 67.



Fig. 18. Steven Calabrese, *Fetish*, acrylic and crayon on canvas, 2010.



Fig. 19. Odilon Redon, *I Saw Above the Misty Outline of a Human Form*, lithograph, 1896.

Redon's work stood out the most for me as I was starting to take a closer look at his prints containing odd apparitions such as *I Saw Above The Misty Outline of a Human Form* of 1896 (Fig. 19). Eyes watch as a ghostly human form sits upright in a chair; the perspective providing us with a strange form of voyeurism. I begin to think of what lies in the dark, and what we are unaware of on a daily basis. Léon Spilliaert was another artist that worked during this time. I enjoyed how pieces such as *Self-Portrait* of 1908 (Fig. 20) allow shadows and inanimate objects surrounding the artist to morph into almost recognizable human forms. I found this trickery to be something I could add to my aesthetic. What really left its mark with symbolism was the possibility for every subject to possess a secret, or perhaps another meaning.

*Portrait of A Man* (Fig. 21), completed in 2010, confronts the viewer with an anxiety that comes with being in a dark room with a strange person. Exploring imagery of my father and the experiences surrounding those years after his death had produced an image. The asymmetry to the piece was effectively more disturbing in my opinion. The photo I used was very poor, and the lighting very dim as result. There is something symbolic about the deconstruction of the image to the right, as it fades to crayon line.



Fig. 20. Léon Spilliaert, *Self-Portrait*, watercolor, crayon, and colored pencil on paper, 1908.



Fig. 21. Steven Calabrese, *Portrait of a Man*, acrylic and crayon on canvas, 2010.



Fig. 22. Steven Calabrese, *Misumena*, acrylic and crayon on canvas, 2010.

Even with my mature, painterly efforts, the very use of crayon retains a certain childhood nostalgia that I favor. Objects hang about the room, creeping just into focus, as the viewer is weary to focus on the figure's ever paling face. I took a note from Spillieart's portraiture here, as I often admired his rich contrasts of light and dark achieved only with drawing mediums. My version would consider black canvases, pale acrylic washes, and white crayon in order to create the weighted atmosphere of *Portrait of a Man*.

The piece entitled *Misumena* of 2010 (Fig. 22) illuminates an obvious predator that stalks the petals of a flower cluster. The acidic yellow of the body against the violet of its environment creates a complimentary composition unlike most of the other pieces. I wanted a meditative piece using repetitive flower shapes. The angles of the stamens are met by the organic undulation of the spider's abdomen. The light's spread from the bottom right, to the upper left, and back down is also telling of the conical flowers of *Buddleia davidii*; the 'butterfly bush'. The contrast between the flowers and the spider do not allow for camouflage, which naturally occurs within the species. Rather than blend in, I chose a spider that lived in contrast to its surroundings in order to achieve a more favorable color compliment. The name of the piece comes from the Latin name *Misumena vatia*, otherwise commonly known as the 'crab spider'. I believe that there is a narration that occurs when something ugly relies on something beautiful in order to feed. In warmer months, this species can be seen living amidst flowers where heavy traffic from insects is prevalent.

### *Printmaking*

My attraction to intaglio is partly due to the physical work involved in preparing the plates themselves. Spending some time with sculpture had given me new ways to keep myself busy. Louise Bourgeois once said that

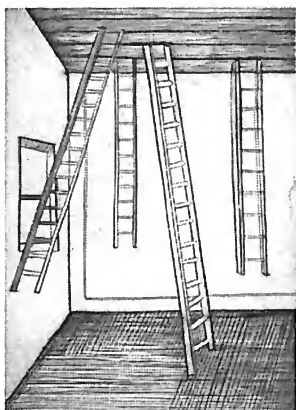


Fig. 23. Louise Bourgeois, Plate 8, *He Disappeared into Complete Silence*, engraving, 1947.



Fig. 24.1. Harry Price, *Stereogram IV*, photograph, 1931.



Fig. 24.2. Steven Calabrese, *Strange Consciousness*, etching, aquatint, and mezzotint, 2011.

sculpture could convey a reality to deeper things; the depth created is interpreted from both psychic and material planes<sup>16</sup>. Bourgeois did not come to sculpture until having completed many interesting engravings. One very memorable Bourgeois print for me would be *Plate 8* (Fig. 23) from the *He Disappeared into Complete Silence* book of 1947. The crisp line and crosshatch that form the depth of the room, as well as the ladders, indicate the original image had been flipped upside down. Altering how we see the image creates a new one, making the otherwise readable situation fall somewhere along the outer rim of tangible thought. It is no mystery that surrealism had influenced Bourgeois' work.

I saw the opportunity to appropriate an image after coming across the photographs of Harry Price, a well-known paranormal investigator from the early Twentieth Century. His collection of spirit photographs surrounding the Helen Duncan case of Scotland was particularly interesting. Of the set taken by Mr. Price, I chose *Stereogram IV* taken in 1931 (Fig. 24.1). The imagery was of a mysteriously cloaked person sitting upright in a chair with similarly shrouded curtains hung about the periphery. I took the opportunity to explore a rendition of the photo in dry point, aquatint, mezzotint, hard ground, and soft ground (Fig. 24.2). The fuzzy and hard lines produced in both my dry point and hard ground editions fueled new outlooks for work to come. The etching entitled *Boy* of 2011 (Fig. 25.1) is a print inspired by atmospheric family photo albums. Adding a shroud of darkness (Fig. 25.2) later on created a print that resounded loudly with the rest of my black canvas paintings. The anxiety dwelling in the looming aquatint is remnant of a recent interest in Goya prints. *Plate 4* (Fig. 26) in particular from the series

<sup>16</sup> Nixon and Bourgeois, *Fantastic Reality*, 83.



Fig. 25.1. Steven Calabrese, *Boy*, first state, etching, 2011.



Fig. 25.2. Steven Calabrese, *Boy*, final state, etching and aquatint, 2010.



Fig. 26. Francisco Goya, *Plate 4, Los Caprichos*, etching and aquatint, 1797-1798.

*Los Caprichos*, first conceived in 1797, had interested me when I thought of combining hard ground etching and aquatinting. Goya's disdain for the events surrounding the Spanish Civil War appears here, a kind of dreadful gloominess that I thought resonated with some of my previous works. The spotlight surrounding the young man in the foreground provides contrast to a dark unknown.

### *Sculpture*

I had begun planning for a sculptural project heavily observed from live 'black widow' spiders. I decided to write a sort of construction manual complete with diagrams and material checklists. The piece consisted of a model and an environment in which it found itself. I created a model that, according to nature, would react realistically to its surroundings. Seeing the natural relationships occurring in the work was quite serendipitous, as it served to undo doubts existing for me along the way. I wasn't used to making plans, but here I had managed to find a way to form the pieces while minimizing the limitations of the instructions I had written down. I believe it takes work to think outside of the box, but it is even harder to avoid the one you set for yourself.

*Hand* (Fig. 27) by Louise Bourgeois had been very influential during my research. The stitching of the hand, combined with the display and the symbolic red color drove me to think of my own interpretation. In 2008, I named my first real sculpture *Widow* (Fig. 28). It consisted of both fiber and wood, and was realistically posable about the leg joints. This allowed for movements possible for a spider of its type. It is similar to making action-

figures in my opinion. This particular form is black, representing feelings toward the more venomous nature of the creature. The blackness of the form I have created in *Widow* has more to say about death than of life. I have erected a glass cage held with white bars to encase the subject, and also to give the viewer comfort in knowing that it will not bother them as they watch for potential movement. The stitchery is unevenly done in white against the black abdomen in order to demonstrate the expressiveness carried over from the line I used in drawings. This characteristic helps to mesh my two-dimensional works with that of my more three-dimensional ones. There is an interesting interplay between found wood and freshly painted wood, as it provides us with a slice of the dingy atmosphere where you would normally locate this creature.



Fig. 27. Louise Bourgeois, *Hand*, fabric, glass, and wood, 2001.

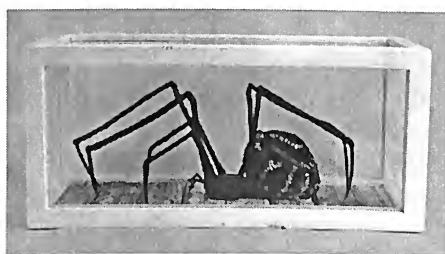


Fig. 28. Steven Calabrese, *Widow*, fabric, glass, wood and latex, 2008.

Cotton, cheesecloth, hair, and spider webs are often props in these pictures when conveying spiritual matter. My light pouches (Figs. 29 & 30) would go on to support both my prints and my paintings. The warmth of the light combined with the fibers of the pouches next to the skin-like latex provided an interesting contrast in texture. The use of latex and cheesecloth in particular are not without considering the work of Eva Hesse. Works such as *Contingent* of 1969 (Fig. 31) became instant inspiration as far as what materials to use. In another installation entitled *Test Pieces* of 1967 (Fig. 32), the varying materials molded into the repetitive half-spheres gave me ideas of how to go about my egg pouches. I noticed that simplifying my forms limits the amount of information given while stimulating the viewer.

While putting together *Widow*, I researched another project of Bourgeois that involved giant spider sculptures named *Maman* (Fig. 33). For Bourgeois, these models pay homage to her mother; a protective, and clever seamstress in her own right. As she represents the spider, she forms narratives deeply rooted in the childhood fables we grow up with<sup>17</sup>. Paula Rego's *Little Miss Muffet* series of 1989 (Fig. 34) depicts the children's tale loaded with hidden tensions that exist in the adult mind. This narration

<sup>17</sup> Mieke Bal, *Louise Bourgeois' Spider: The Architecture of Art-Writing*, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2001), 71.



Fig. 29. Steven Calabrese, *Protection* (detail), cheesecloth, thread, paper, wood, with light, 2012.



Fig. 30. Steven Calabrese, *Winter Exit* (detail), cotton and paper with light, 2010.

for Rego exists on the base of what we remember from childish fairytales. Although my art does not attempt the same level of fantasy, I highly respect the artist's ability to communicate here. Even though I have made only a few three-dimensional works, I believe shaping with your hands is fundamental to painting the illusion of shape and form. My journeys in sculptural have most certainly driven my attraction to the physicality of intaglio.

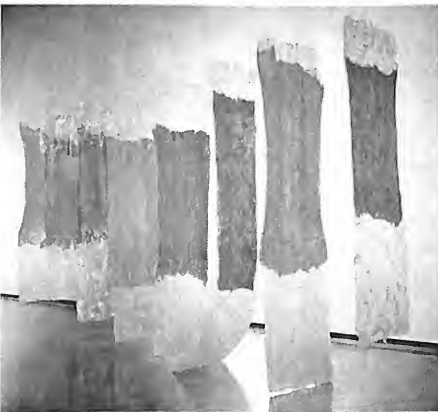


Fig. 31. Eva Hesse, *Contingent*, cheesecloth, latex, and fiberglass, 1969.



Fig. 32. Eva Hesse, *Test Pieces*, paper mache, sculpt-metal, and latex, 1967.

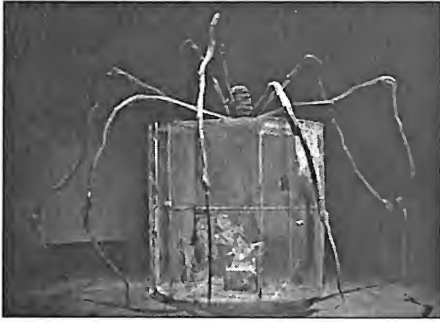


Fig. 33. Above. Louise Bourgeois, *Maman*, stainless steel and marble, 1999.

Fig. 34. Right. Paula Rego, *Little Miss Muffet*, etching and aquatint, 1989.



## Conclusion

Ever since I was a kid, I knew I would end up making art. My general love for drawing had always been motivation enough to better my craft. Utilizing design elements has given me the ability to improve not only intuitively, but scholarly as well. In intuition's defense, however, I believe that these elements are realized through practice, which in turn illuminate the world in terms of color, line, and shade. The time I've spent with my craft has allowed me to combine a knowledge of both two and three-dimensional art forms in order to obtain a more intelligible sensation of depth throughout my work. The world's numerous mysteries hold the key to making art through observation and expression, a game of assembling and disassembling realities in order to create something visceral and new.

My work remains in the physical world however, with its aim to capture scenes from what we see everyday (with a touch of what we do not see). The surreal nature of what I portray can now invoke greater energy within the viewer this way. I owe most of my accomplishments to those artists that helped me along the way; both past and present. My influences range from ancient civilization to modern, and quite a bit in between. I don't think that someone should limit his or her self to studying one or two areas. Crossing that which does not seemingly fit in the same era can provide interesting contrasts. I feel that in order to grow, one must truly study art. Understanding where art has been over the years is paramount. I believe this knowledge guides my your own art into the future, creating new stories out of old ones.

In addition to painting, however, building and printmaking have been fruitful endeavors. With the various methods involved in intaglio, the possibilities of imagery are endless. The commercial applications of the



medium are potentially lucrative due to replication; it becomes easier to provide the viewer with a piece of the artist. The process of inking is varied at times, assigning an organic intimacy to every piece. Printing and sculpting have kept a fire lit within me, as well as reinforce my original focus in painting. It is easy to become stagnant with your craft, but I am still so hungry for new ways to create.

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## A Moderate's Gamble: Terry Sanford and the Transformation of Southern Politics During the Civil Rights Era

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*Madison W. Cates*

Since the publishing of V.O. Key's foundational work *Southern Politics in State and Nation*, the perception of North Carolina as a Southern "progressive plutocracy," in the midst of a South consumed by the politics of massive resistance, has emerged as a result of a tradition of moderation in state politics which many scholars have termed "the North Carolina Way."<sup>1</sup> Although the reality of this perception is debated, in the post- Civil War years the South experienced a revival of white, Democratic rule which led to the disenfranchisement of blacks in the form of Jim Crow laws at the local and state level. As a result, the Democratic Party established itself as the only viable party for maintaining white economic, political, and social dominance. However, Southern Democrats would find themselves increasingly divided between moderate and conservative factions as Negroes began to increasingly identify with the party after the New Deal years and the emergence of disagreements over how governments should address issues of race relations. Furthermore, as a result of trends such as the experiences of black veterans during World War II and the rise of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a social movement emerged with the goal of challenging the systematic inequalities which had effectively disenfranchised Negroes. As a result of the rising tide that became known as the Civil Rights movement, Southern Democratic leaders in local and state politics had to develop creative strategies for addressing the tensions created by this movement.

These divisions were immediately affected by the U.S. Supreme Court Case of *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* in which the Court ruled that segregation under the doctrine of "separate but equal," was unconstitutional. In a subsequent ruling known as *Brown II*, the Court ruled that states had to desegregate "with all deliberate speed." After *Brown*, these divisions between Southern Democrats were solidified as one side consisted of "conservatives," who emphasized fighting integration as a major part of their campaigns and political agendas. Meanwhile, the other side

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<sup>1</sup> V.O. Key Jr., *Southern Politics in State and Nation*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), 205.

consisted of “moderates,” who placed greater emphasis on other issues, such as education, and while they opposed immediate integration, many accepted “token” integration and supported expanding opportunities for Negroes in areas such as employment.<sup>2</sup> In the case of North Carolina, scholars Howard Covington Jr. and Marion Ellis argue that “The reaction to the U.S. Supreme Court’s decision on school integration would separate the senior members of the Democratic Party such as (Sam) Ervin from younger progressives such as (Terry) Sanford.”<sup>3</sup> Their claim would be supported by a series of elections between these groups, namely the 1952 U.S. Senate race between Sanford’s mentor, Frank Porter Graham and Willis Smith, the 1954 Senate race won by moderate Kerr Scott, and the 1960 gubernatorial primary won by Terry Sanford over “militant segregationist” I. Beverly Lake. Sanford’s election and term as governor would prove particularly pivotal as it continued the tradition of moderates being elected as governor and as Sanford distinguished himself from any other state executive in North Carolina or the South. Furthermore, during the years of 1960-1964, North Carolina Governor Terry Sanford exemplified a path of political moderation as demonstrated by his refusal to make issues of desegregation the focus of his campaign and subsequent term as governor, instead he focused his energy on improving educational and economic opportunities for all citizens as seen by his legislative agenda and his work on the North Carolina Fund as a revolutionary “war on poverty” as a combined effort between state government and private philanthropy.

In order to understand Terry Sanford’s campaign for and term as governor, it is necessary to establish his background in politics and to consider the historical context around which the 1960 gubernatorial election took place. During Sanford’s childhood in Laurinburg, he was exposed to his parents involvement in politics and to the prejudices of Southerners during Catholic Al Smith’s campaign for president, while also witnessing the poverty that plagued both blacks and whites in the small town near the South Carolina border. These experiences, along with his time at UNC studying politics and law under the tutelage of University President Frank Porter Graham, Sanford developed an innate desire to become a public servant.<sup>4</sup> His involvement in politics began as he returned from his service in World War II and finished law school at UNC and then he established a law firm in Fayetteville. Despite moving to Fayetteville as a relative stranger, Sanford set up his law firm, became president of both the local chapter of the Jaycees and

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<sup>2</sup> Earl Black, *Southern Governors and Civil Rights: Racial Segregation As a Campaign Issue in the Second Reconstruction*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 14-15.

<sup>3</sup> Howard E. Covington Jr. and Marion A. Ellis, *Terry Sanford: Politics, Progress, and Outrageous Ambitions*. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999), 145-146.

<sup>4</sup> UNC TV. “Terry Sanford and the New South.” NC Live Media Collection. [http://media.nclive.org/content/begin\\_stream.php](http://media.nclive.org/content/begin_stream.php) (accessed February 15, 2011).

of the state's Young Democrats, all before he won a state senate seat in 1952.<sup>5</sup> With these positions, Sanford's public profile increased and he established connections with local and state political kingpins who could provide helpful organization for a future statewide campaign. Sanford's participation in Frank Porter Graham's 1952 campaign for the U.S. Senate and as a campaign manager for Kerr Scott's U.S. Senate bid two years later helped him further these connections, affirmed his moderate views on segregation, and allowed him to gain valuable experience in running a state-wide campaign as a Southern moderate.

Both of these campaigns served as examples of the major political battles between the moderate and conservative factions of the state Democratic Party, and as a result of his involvement, Terry Sanford gained relationships that would be useful in his own campaign and insight as to how a moderate segregationist could win a statewide election against a militant segregationist opponent. In 1950, Frank Porter Graham won the Democratic primary for the U.S. Senate over hardline segregationist Willis Smith and two other candidates with 48.9% of the vote, just short of the percentage needed to avoid a runoff.<sup>6</sup> Despite this victory, Graham was not safe as an anonymous group known as the "Know the Truth Committee" launched a campaign to distribute a vast number of leaflets that utilized "race-baiting" tactics to warn whites of the perceived consequences of electing Graham. In these leaflets, they argued that Graham would let Negroes go to school with whites and take whites' jobs, among other things.<sup>7</sup> Smith and his supporters used these tactics to exploit the racial prejudices of voters and despite the efforts of Sanford and the Graham campaign, many whites in eastern North Carolina, the region with the highest percentage of blacks per capita, switched from Graham to Smith in many counties.<sup>8</sup> As a direct result of this dramatic turn of events, Terry Sanford saw the dangers of a moderate segregationist running in a campaign where race was the central issue. Sanford recorded observations in his notebook from Graham's defeat for use in later campaigns. He wrote down three statements that became a centerpiece of his strategy on addressing racial issues in 1960: "Don't give them any quarter. Counter-attack on another issue. Don't let somebody drag

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<sup>5</sup> Howard E. Covington Jr., and Marion A. Ellis ed., *The North Carolina Century: Tar Heels Who Made a Difference (1900-2000)*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 514.

<sup>6</sup> Julian M. Pleasants and Augustus M. Burns III. *Frank Porter Graham and the 1950 Senate Race in North Carolina*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 186.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 220-221.

<sup>8</sup> North Carolina Secretary of State's Office. *North Carolina Manual (1951)*. by Thad Eure. (Raleigh: Owen G. Dunn Co., 1951), 237-240.

you into something you don't want to do."<sup>9</sup> However, before using these notes for his own campaign, Sanford had the chance to redeem Graham's loss and test his ideas on fighting racist tactics in what would be referred to as "the Third Primary," as former moderate governor Kerr Scott challenged Alton Lennon for the Senate seat that Smith had occupied until his sudden death in 1953.<sup>10</sup>

The Kerr Scott campaign of 1954 was preceded by Sanford's election to the state Senate in 1952 where he developed a reputation for being an intelligent and pragmatic politician with an occasional independent streak, all qualities which allowed him to establish inroads with other state politicians. With these experiences, connections to middle class, urban whites and businessmen, and youthful energy, Kerr Scott named him his campaign manager in 1954.<sup>11</sup> Scott, a former governor known as the "Squire from Haw River," possessed a powerful campaign organization called "the Branchhead Boys," which centered around his electoral base of rural politicians and "courthouse crowds."<sup>12</sup> As Sanford had focused on a mill precinct in the 1950 campaign, his connections to the crucial electorate of industrial laborers and businessmen balanced the Branchhead Boys' rural inroads. This influence in urban areas would prove beneficial for Sanford and Scott as a fake Scott ad which praised his support for the Negro cause appeared in the *Winston-Salem Journal* four days before the election. From his experiences with Graham in 1950, Sanford knew how to respond to such tactics as he refused to go on the defensive, but instead to counterattack. He convinced his friend Jonathon Daniels to run a story in the *Raleigh News and Observer* the day before the election on a possible FBI investigation into the phony ads, which were, in Sanford's words, an example of "desperate" and "dirty politics."<sup>13</sup> As a result, Scott would go on to win the Senate seat, although a problem for the future campaign prospects of moderate, southern Democrats emerged with the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* in May of 1954.

The *Brown* decision brought about significant changes in Southern politics, three of which had profound effects on Sanford's 1960 campaign: the continued emergence of desegregation as a central campaign issue, Luther Hodge's and the Pearsall Committee's "middle of the road" response to *Brown*, and the rise to prominence of I. Beverly Lake. Governor William Umstead

<sup>9</sup> John Drescher, *Triumph of Good Will: How Terry Sanford Defeated a Champion of Segregation and Reshaped the South*, (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2000), 5.

<sup>10</sup> Rob Christensen, *The Paradox Of Tar Heel Politics: The Personalities, Elections, And Events That Shaped Modern North Carolina*, 2nd. ed., (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008) 149.

<sup>11</sup> Drescher, 14-15.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, 15.

<sup>13</sup> Covington Jr. and Ellis, 139.

appointed an advisory committee known as the First Pearsall Committee in August 1954 to study the implications of the recent *Brown* ruling and then to make recommendations on how the state should respond.<sup>14</sup> The committee consisted of three Negro men and sixteen whites under the leadership of former Speaker of the NC House Thomas Pearsall with the goals of preserving the state's public school system and ensuring that peace and order reigned.<sup>15</sup> Umstead and the Pearsall Committee agreed that North Carolina should neither follow the patterns of "massive resistance," nor of "full compliance," and thus, they considered how North Carolina could stall the integration process and whether or not the state should accept the Supreme Court's offer and appear as "amici curiae."<sup>16</sup> It was at this point that a professor at Wake Forest Law School and the attorney general's appointed counsel to argue the state's case in the *Brown* case, I. Beverly Lake emerged as an important actor in state politics. Lake soon became the main source of opposition to the state's moderate tradition as he argued vehemently against the state accepting the Court's offer of "amici curiae," in which the state agreed to appear as a "friend of the court," even as Umstead informed the state's delegation that they should accept the offer and participate in the Court's proceedings.<sup>17</sup> Although Umstead died in November 1954, the First Pearsall Committee released their first report in December 1954, which advised that the state should devote itself to the prevention of any violence while still complying with *Brown* by shifting the responsibility for desegregation to local school boards through the Pupil Assignment Act of 1955, which would then force Civil Rights leaders to sue every school district that did not desegregate.<sup>18</sup> Two years later, in response to *Brown II* which declared that states should desegregate "with all deliberate speed," Governor Luther Hodges appointed the Second Pearsall Committee. This group of all white legislators produced the "Pearsall Plan," which called for a constitutional amendment to allow local communities to hold a public referendum to close public schools in the event of mandated integration, while also allowing for the State Board of Education to provide white students with vouchers to attend private schools.<sup>19</sup> Although Lake was not part of the Second Pearsall Committee, he criticized their plan for not going far enough and for not endorsing his plan, which included a repeal of the constitutional requirement that the state operate

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<sup>14</sup> The United States Commission On Civil Rights, *Civil Rights U.S.A.- Public Schools Southern States 1962*, (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 64-65.

<sup>15</sup> Drescher, 43-44.

<sup>16</sup> Covington and Ellis, 146.

<sup>17</sup> The United States Commission On Civil Rights, 65-66.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, 66-67.

<sup>19</sup> James W. Patton ed., *Messages, Addresses, and Public Papers of Luther Hartwell Hodges*. Vols 2-3, (Raleigh: Council of State, 1962), 158-160.

public schools.<sup>20</sup> In contrast, Sanford openly supported the Pearsall Plan as he called it “the only workable solution,” as it complied with the Court’s ruling, while also maintaining social order through empowering local authorities to decide on creative responses to issues of desegregation.<sup>21</sup> Sanford’s support of the Hodges and Pearsall’s adherence to the “North Carolina Way” coupled with Lake’s fierce criticisms of the state’s response to *Brown* proved to be a defining difference between the two men, but it was also a difference that Sanford worked to avoid discussing in the 1960 race for governor.

Although it had been Sanford’s great ambition since his days at UNC to run for governor, he resisted challenging Hodges in his 1956 run for a full term, despite the fact that he drove to Raleigh with the filing fee in hand the night before it was due.<sup>22</sup> Instead, Sanford bid his time and continued to prepare for 1960 when Hodges would be term limited. As he toured the state, Sanford visited all one hundred counties, received numerous endorsements, and experimented with various “planks” that would make up his campaign platform.<sup>23</sup> Also in his preparation for his run for governor, Sanford voraciously studied policy notes, such as transcripts of the Pearsall Committee’s debates and information from local and state officials in Arkansas on the integration battle that had occurred there.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, Sanford solidified a brilliant campaign organization that would have an indelible contribution to his victory. This organization included a diverse group of people and organizations, namely Kerr Scott’s “Branchhead Boys,” the Methodist Church, Jaycees, Young Democrats, along with people such as his campaign manager Bert Bennett and pollster and campaign advisor Louis Harris. Sanford was something of an innovator in state politics as demonstrated by his frequent use of television advertising and for being the first candidate in the state’s history to utilize a pollster in Harris.<sup>25</sup> All of this preparation would serve Sanford well in his first statewide campaign against a crowded field that would make up the Democratic Party primary.

Terry Sanford officially announced on February 4, 1960 that he would run for governor with a rousing speech in downtown Fayetteville in which he first declared that “a New Day” was coming to North Carolina. With this announcement, the business of campaigning officially began for Sanford, as evident by the fact that he was immediately interviewed by numerous

<sup>20</sup> Drescher, 49-50.

<sup>21</sup> Earl Black, *Southern Governors and Civil Rights: Racial Segregation As a Campaign Issue in the Second Reconstruction*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 15-16.

<sup>22</sup> John Drescher, *Triumph of Good Will: How Terry Sanford Defeated a Champion of Segregation and Reshaped the South*, (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2000), 30-31.

<sup>23</sup> UNCTV.

<sup>24</sup> Drescher, 31.

<sup>25</sup> Christensen, 180-181.



reporters in which he discussed issues such as his recent endorsement from Charles Cannon, one of the state's most well known industrialists. Sanford's cordial relationship with the press would be a theme throughout the campaign that would provide a major contribution to its success. The Cannon endorsement was an important early victory for his campaign as John Larkins, a notable party leader, legislator, and the only other candidate to officially declare, was assumed to win the majority of the manufacturing vote.<sup>26</sup> Larkins sought to distinguish himself from Sanford by emphasizing his service as a loyal state party leader and as he hoped he could paint Sanford as more interested in the national Democratic Party. Larkins believed that his service to the state party would gain him the endorsement of Governor Hodges, but he never received it.<sup>27</sup> As he saw Sanford as the only assured candidate and considered him to be a "liberal," Larkins ran, in part because he was opposed to Sanford's perceived liberalism on fiscal and race issues.<sup>28</sup> As Larkins and Sanford announced and began their campaigns, I. Beverly Lake continued to wrestle over whether to enter the race as essentially a one-issue candidate who would dramatically alter the focus of the Democratic primary towards the issue of segregation.<sup>29</sup> Although Lake had been encouraged numerous times to seek some political office, he considered himself to be a lawyer and professor first, and a man with very little political experience.<sup>30</sup> As a result, Lake announced that he would not be a gubernatorial candidate after an emphatic speech in the town of Sanford that admonished Hodges, Sanford, and other moderates who, in his mind, had made North Carolina an easy target for the NAACP. Despite his public announcement, Lake had mentioned that he might reconsider running if he was assured that there would be sufficient funds for his campaign.<sup>31</sup> A few weeks after Lake's withdrawal, an outpouring of grassroots support, the emergence of Robert Morgan as a campaign manager, and the sufficient campaign organization and fundraising that Morgan promised, Lake reneged on his earlier decision. Although Lake later admitted that he was indeed a political novice who possessed little organization, money, and a limited platform, his entrance as the most outspoken opponent of desegregation would alter the course of the campaign.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Drescher, 67.

<sup>27</sup> Covington and Ellis, 206-207.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, 64.

<sup>29</sup> Drescher, 75.

<sup>30</sup> Black, 217.

<sup>31</sup> Drescher, 76-77.

<sup>32</sup> I. Beverly Lake Sr., 1987, Interviewed by Charles Dunn, September 8, Interview C-0043, Southern Oral History Program Collection in the Southern Oral History Program Collection, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, UNC Chapel Hill.

With all the major candidates' hats in the ring, including Sanford, Lake, Larkins, and state Attorney General Malcom Seawell, the campaign that Terry Sanford had planned years earlier had arrived. However, this time it was Sanford's campaign and he needed all the notes he had taken and lessons he had learned during the Graham and Scott campaigns in order to achieve victory. Sanford's campaign strategy throughout the first and second primaries would reflect trends that were common among "victorious, moderate segregationists" at that time. Of these trends, three in particular were present in Sanford's campaign: an opposition to integration that respected the Supreme Court's authority, an argument for preserving segregation and the status quo was not a cornerstone of his campaign, and an aversion to exploit racial fears and prejudices or "race baiting tactics" for a political advantage.<sup>33</sup> The presence of Malcom Seawell helped Sanford avoid discussions about the race issues, as Seawell, as the state Attorney General centered his campaign, for the most part, on defending the Hodges administration and his work on the Pearsall Plan as the state's official response to *Brown*. Meanwhile, Lake had fiercely opposed and criticized Seawell and Hodges for their moderate position on the issue as a concession to the NAACP.<sup>34</sup> As a result, Sanford allowed Seawell and Lake, and Larkins to some extent, to debate desegregation while he hammered home his message that emphasized a bold, future-oriented initiative to improve education and ensure racial harmony as a means of uniting, rather than dividing, voters behind the goal of achieving a "New Day" in the state.<sup>35</sup>

Sanford and Bennett chose education as the defining issue of the campaign because it was an issue that all North Carolinians were connected to in some way and were united in the belief that North Carolina's schools needed improvement regardless of whether they were integrated or not. Furthermore, Sanford's ambitious plan touched nearly every aspect of education in the state, from expanding the community college system to raising teacher pay to providing more funds for libraries.<sup>36</sup> The broad range and impact of Sanford's plan for improving education was one of the reasons why it appealed to so many voters. For example, in what would be one of his early successful campaign stops, Sanford spoke to a group of women in Greensboro at a time when pollster Louis Harris reported that Sanford trailed Larkins among women voters. Sanford's speech to the women that day emphasized transforming the education their children received would also involve ensuring that educators, which many of these women were, would be adequately paid and trained.<sup>37</sup> Also, Sanford, with the help of his

<sup>33</sup> Black, 14-15.

<sup>34</sup> Covington and Ellis, 212.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, 213-214.

<sup>36</sup> Sam Ragan, *The New Day*, (Zebulon: Record Publishing Co., 1964), 9-10.

<sup>37</sup> Covington and Ellis, 213.

old friend Martha McKay, continued to provide the women after the visit with information on Sanford's campaign, the poor state of public schools in North Carolina, and how he planned to change it.<sup>38</sup> Events such as the women's meeting in Greensboro demonstrated how Sanford's brilliant campaign organization and positive, pragmatic message on a non-divisive issue served a significant role in his ability to court votes without discussing segregation. Another aspect of Sanford's campaign throughout both primaries included his openness in stating the need for increased taxes to pay for his education program. Although he was known for taking calculated risks, Sanford believed voters understood that major public expenditures required increased revenue and that citizens should be willing to make sacrifices, if it contributed to a better future for the state.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, Sanford's "straight talk" on taxes demonstrated that he was willing to challenge the "hold-the-liners," or politicians such as Governor Hodges who campaigned on increased funding for education, but never delivered.<sup>40</sup> Thus, Sanford combined both a traditional moderation on segregation with fiscal pragmatism that would classify him as, what scholar Earl Black termed an "adaptive," a politician who supports increased public expenditures on education or economic development as a central part of their campaign.<sup>41</sup> Through this break with traditional moderate governors of North Carolina, it is evident that Sanford did not only want to maintain the status quo in the state, but instead he believed that the state could become a case study for the South and the nation in terms of education, racial harmony, and modern economic development..

Sanford and Bennett's well-oiled campaign machine continued to pick up steam as the primary wore on and while the other candidates attacked each other over desegregation issues, Sanford's positive message and relentless campaigning placed him in good position going into the final month of the race. At this point, he emerged as the apparent front-runner as the other candidates increasingly turned their criticisms toward him as he became known in some circles as "Terrible Tax Terry" and was charged with being a supporter of labor unions and the NAACP.<sup>42</sup> Despite Sanford's good position heading into the homestretch of the first primary, questions about his stance on integration emerged as Lake continued to criticize Seawell, the former attorney general, who recognized that Sanford could deflect some

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid, 213-214.

<sup>39</sup> Drescher, 116.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Black, 18-19.

<sup>42</sup> Terry Sanford, 1986. Interviewed by Brent Glass, December 16 and 18, Interview C-0038, transcript, Southern Oral History Program Collection (#4007) in the Southern Oral History Program Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

of Lake's criticisms of the Pearsall Plan.<sup>43</sup> With the growth of the "sit-in movement" in 1960, many voters also called on Sanford to take a stand and he responded by repeating his support for the Pearsall Plan and by emphasizing that he preferred to not discuss divisive, issues that played upon people's fears and prejudices and not their ability to reason and calmly discuss the issues.<sup>44</sup> Although Sanford could have easily criticized civil rights protestors and organizations as Lake did, both ideology and political necessity prevented him from doing so as he needed to maintain his share of the Negro vote. Thus, Sanford balanced his acknowledgment of the protestors' right to voice their grievances, while also declaring his support for maintaining segregation through the Pearsall Plan.<sup>45</sup> Despite the emergence of this issue that he had sought to avoid, Sanford won a commanding victory by a nearly 88,000 vote margin over the next candidate, I. Beverly Lake.<sup>46</sup> As Sanford only garnered 41.3% of the vote, Lake called for a runoff and in this race, there would be no other candidate to shield Sanford from Lake's attacks on his views on race.<sup>47</sup>

Despite Lake's seemingly meteoric rise that allowed him to defeat two more experienced, party favorites in Seawell and Larkins, Sanford had confidence that the lessons he learned from the Graham and Scott campaigns would allow him to fend off Lake's attacks and tactics. In order to take the offensive against Lake, as Sanford had learned in Graham's defeat, Bennett and Sanford decided to focus on informing the electorate on the certain consequences that would result if they elected such a "dangerous extremist."<sup>48</sup> For example, they emphasized the fact that Sanford would continue and build, as his predecessors did, upon the "North Carolina way" when it came to integration, while Lake would move the state in line with the "massive resistance" policies of other southern states.<sup>49</sup> With this, Sanford reminded voters of the images of federal troops in Little Rock to demonstrate the perils that would result from electing a "massive resistance" governor.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, Sanford effectively turned Lake's fear-based tactics around by playing on voters' fears of racial violence and closed schools in such a way that negated his opponent's tactics and portrayed himself as the most qualified candidate to prevent such a crisis. Also, Sanford used campaign rhetoric to further show voters the inherent differences and results between electing him and Lake. In his campaign speeches, Sanford's frequently referenced the

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Drescher, 130-131.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, 135.

<sup>46</sup> North Carolina Secretary of State's Office, *North Carolina Manual* (1961), by Thad Eure. (Raleigh: Owen G. Dunn Co., 1961), 228.

<sup>47</sup> Drescher, 162.

<sup>48</sup> Christensen, 183.

<sup>49</sup> Black, 109.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

term “climate of hate” which he charged that Lake encouraged. Meanwhile, he also many times cited the state’s need for “massive intelligence,” as opposed to “massive resistance.”<sup>51</sup> Through these aggressive tactics and a confident campaigning style, Sanford’s campaign effectively portrayed Lake as a dangerous extremist and exposed his lack of political experience on the way to a resounding victory over Lake with approximately 56% of the vote to win the Democratic nomination.<sup>52</sup> Despite his impressive victory Sanford still had to win the general election, although in the days of the one-party South, that should have been an afterthought, but Sanford would take one more gamble in this campaign with his endorsement of John F. Kennedy for President over fellow southerner, Lyndon Johnson. Although Sanford risked significant political capital and a tougher general election than anticipated from Republican Robert Gavin for endorsing a Catholic Northerner, he saw the historical significance of taking such a gamble. The initial reaction to Sanford’s official endorsement of Kennedy at the Democratic National Convention was predictably negative at first as Catholicism was equated with Communism and the NAACP by many North Carolina voters.<sup>53</sup> Bert Bennett had told Sanford, “History knocks seldom and when it does, you’d better open up,” and he recognized that Kennedy’s progressive plan, based on unity rather than division was more consistent with the legacy that Sanford wanted to create at the state level.<sup>54</sup> As a result, it is evident that Terry Sanford’s campaign reflected both a continuation of the moderate platforms of past governors on desegregation along with a new vision for further connecting the state with the rest of the nation in areas such as education and industry.

As he had introduced his campaign for governor, Sanford marked the beginning of his term in the same way, by declaring the arrival of a “New Day” in the state with his inaugural address on January 5, 1961. As a means of setting the tone for the next four years, Sanford credited the arrival of this new day to the efforts of past governors, beginning with Charles B. Aycock, one of the men Sanford most admired for his work to improve education in the state, as he kept Aycock’s picture on his desk.<sup>55</sup> Predictably, Sanford focused the core of his speech on education, as he declared it as the engine that would drive the state toward a brighter future. In this, Sanford argued “second- rate education for our children can only mean a second- rate future for North Carolina. Quality education is the foundation of economic development, of democracy, of the needs and hopes of a nation.”<sup>56</sup> This statement reflected both Sanford’s desire to continue the example of former state leaders on

<sup>51</sup> Christensen, 183-184.

<sup>52</sup> North Carolina Secretary of State’s Office, *North Carolina Manual* (1961), 229.

<sup>53</sup> Drescher, 226-227.

<sup>54</sup> Bert Bennett qtd. In Christensen, 185.

<sup>55</sup> Covington and Ellis, 244; Memory F. Mitchell, ed., *Addresses and Papers of Governor Terry Sanford*, (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1966), 3-5.

<sup>56</sup> Mitchell, 6.

improving education, while also demonstrating a break from past executives who believed in a top-down approach in that industrial development would increase revenue and pay for school improvements. Instead, Sanford believed that a quality school system at the secondary and university level would improve the skill level of the labor force while also attracting new industries to the state.<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, this speech's emphasis on a "new day" paralleled, and referenced, President Kennedy's "New Frontier" and reflected Sanford's belief that North Carolina could be an example for the rest of the nation in education, race relations, and other areas.<sup>58</sup> For all his idealism, positive talking points, and rhetoric, Sanford's inaugural address also reflected a realism that emphasized the need for present sacrifices in order for sufficient investment in the state's future. These sacrifices centered around the need for more tax revenue as Sanford said: "If it takes more taxes to give our children this quality education, we must face that fact and provide the money. We must never lose sight of the fact that our children are our best investment. This is no age for the faint of heart."<sup>59</sup> As Sanford assumed the office of governor, he needed all of his campaign experience and political savvy to move his legislative program through a legislature dominated by "status quo," conservative Democrats.

Since the North Carolina Constitution established a weak executive position with no veto power and who could only serve one term, Sanford and the governors before him were forced to use creative maneuvers to influence the legislative process, mostly through the power of appointments and he "bully pulpit."<sup>60</sup> With this, Sanford's administration initially focused using their limited power and time on securing the passage of the educational improvements that he had so frequently emphasized during the campaign. Sanford endorsed an aggressive plan developed by the United Forces for Education, a coalition of various educational interest groups, for \$100 million worth of new investment in education that would be paid for by the repeal of all exemptions to the state sales tax, as Sanford saw that there were no other practical revenue options.<sup>61</sup> The most controversial of the sales tax exemptions that would be repealed included the repeal of exemptions for food and medicine, which many detractors charged targeted the poor, including the state commissioner of revenue who called it a "tax

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<sup>57</sup> Robert R. Korstad and James L. Leloudis, *To Right These Wrongs: The North Carolina Fund And The Battle To End Poverty and Inequality In 1960's America*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 33-34.

<sup>58</sup> Mitchell, 6-7.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid, 6.

<sup>60</sup> Covington and Ellis, 247.

<sup>61</sup> Ragan, 7.

on poverty.<sup>62</sup> As Sanford appeared before the General Assembly to sell this program, he informed them “I have considered every possible source of taxation,” while also mentioning that the state tax on alcoholic beverages was already too high, as was the soft drink tax, and the tobacco tax.<sup>63</sup> Sanford acknowledged that the speech before the joint session of the Legislature had major ramifications as the success or failure of the educational initiative provided an early signal as to whether or not he could effectively govern and advance major pieces of legislation from the middle in a mostly conservative, “hold-the-line” Legislature. In mid-April, the education bill passed the appropriations committee with some major pressure from Sanford, but the chances for the passage of the final bill were still slim. In order to prove his credibility to House and Senate members, Sanford pushed through popular, smaller bills on reorganizing government bureaucracy while also using his appointment powers to attract votes from state representatives.<sup>64</sup> In order to further ensure passage of his program in the General Assembly, Sanford went on the road to speak to constituents and sell the bill. For example, the governor held two rallies in Smithfield and Goldsboro, where he would speak on the state’s poor standing in terms of education when compared to the rest of the nation, while also pointing out the fact that North Carolina, at the time, was eighth in the nation in the number of pupils enrolled in the public school system.<sup>65</sup> From these humbling statistics, Sanford reminded the crowd of the importance of these future generations as he said “this his our greatest asset. But we have cultivated our children’s minds less well than we have cultivated our tobacco and peanut and cotton acres. We have given proportionally less attention to the maintenance of schools than we have to the maintenance of wardrobes, our automobiles, and our kitchen stoves.”<sup>66</sup> Sanford continued to work all angles within the legislature leading up to the General Assembly’s vote on the education bill, which was more decisive than expected as the bill passed the Senate by a forty-two to eight vote and the House by a eighty-five to thirty-eight vote in the house.<sup>67</sup> As a result of this bill’s passage, the state’s schools and universities experienced major improvements as teacher pay raises increased by an average of twenty-two percent, helping the state improve from thirty-ninth to thirty-second for average teacher salaries, while state college faculty also saw pay increases, along with the addition of 2,826 secondary school teachers in the next

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<sup>62</sup> Thomas F. Eamon, “The Seeds of Modern North Carolina Politics.” In *The New Politics of North Carolina*, eds. Christopher A. Cooper and H. Gibbs Knotts, 15-27. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 25-27.

<sup>63</sup> Mitchell, 28-29.

<sup>64</sup> Covington Jr. and Ellis, 258.

<sup>65</sup> Mitchell, 115-116.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Covington Jr. and Ellis, 259.

three years.<sup>68</sup> Despite this great victory, in November voters rejected a bond referendum, that would pay for further educational improvements, along with port and other industrial bonds, which had not happened in thirty-seven years.<sup>69</sup> As his campaign emphasized the improvement of the state's schools as part of the necessary progress to achieve this "New Day," sacrifices would still be required. Although Sanford cost himself and those associated with him some political capital, he demonstrated the ideology of a moderate, segregationist governor as he chose to invest in providing a better quality of life for North Carolina's future generations while not disrupting the status of segregated schools in the state.

Despite the results of the bond referendum, the education bill remained a major victory for Sanford, along with more minor bills, such as an increase in the state minimum wage. Thus, with this confidence and the legislature not in session, Sanford gave numerous speeches and attended conferences across the South and the nation speaking on the state's progress.<sup>70</sup> One significant speech occurred in Columbia, South Carolina, a bastion of Southern massive resistance, in which Sanford emphasized a united regional front to improve education as he declared that the South was "rising again through education, through industry, through commerce, and through agriculture." Despite the fact that Sanford spoke almost completely on education, the issue of the desegregation of schools was predictably not discussed.<sup>71</sup> However, as Sanford and his team enjoyed their success in moving their legislative agenda through the General Assembly, protests continued to intensify as the "sit-in movement" spread outward from Greensboro. As the presence of these racial tensions created headaches for Sanford during the campaign and into the first years of his term, beginning with the Congress of Racial Equality's (CORE) Freedom Rides in 1961 and 1962, which were designed to test southern states' compliance, or lack thereof, with the Court-ordered desegregation of public facilities.<sup>72</sup> Sanford's "quiet, non-confrontational approach" to the Freedom Rides empowered local officials with flexibility to address these issues as they saw fit and as a result, North Carolina avoided much of the violence that met the Freedom Riders in other southern states.<sup>73</sup> However, such violence throughout the South only strengthened the resolve of many civil rights leaders, including Durham lawyer Floyd McKissick who organized a local CORE chapter. In a combined

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<sup>68</sup> Ragan, 47.

<sup>69</sup> Sen. Henson P. Barnes, *Work in Progress: The North Carolina Legislature*, (Raleigh: North Carolina General Assembly, 1993) 308.

<sup>70</sup> Covington Jr. and Ellis, 260-261.

<sup>71</sup> Mitchell, 156.

<sup>72</sup> Korstad and Leloudis, 48.

<sup>73</sup> Anders Walker, *The Ghost of Jim Crow: How Southern Moderates Used Brown v. Board of Education to Stall Civil Rights*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 128-129.



effort with national CORE director James Farmer, McKissick launched the "Freedom Highways" campaign as a means of testing the legitimacy of Sanford's "moderate image."<sup>74</sup> With the threat for escalated racial tensions, Sanford agreed to establish a commission to negotiate for the desegregation of restaurants along state highways, which they would partially accomplish.<sup>75</sup> With these developments and due to the fact that his campaign owed some of its success to its avoidance of racial issues, Sanford recognized that he now had greater responsibility and these issues would have to be addressed as he recognized that the lives, economy, and the future of this "New Day" were all at risk if he ignored the gathering storm of the Civil Rights Movement.

Although Sanford and his administration wanted to avoid getting themselves "caught up" in the confrontations between demonstrators and "massive resistance" politics that had engulfed most of the South at the time, he took some early steps toward token integration. For example, when he moved his family to Raleigh and the Governor's Mansion, Sanford and his wife, were forced to choose between sending their children to an all white private school, or one of the few integrated schools in the state, Raleigh's Murphy School.<sup>76</sup> Even though the school was considered "integrated," it had only one black student, which allowed Sanford both to make somewhat of a statement by sending his children to this school, while also deflecting any criticisms about his children attending an "integrated school."<sup>77</sup> Also, Sanford used his power to appoint individuals to state boards and agencies, a power which legislators could not check, to quietly appoint over a dozen Negroes to these positions. Also, he invited black leaders, such as James Farmer and John Wheeler of Durham, to come to enjoy meals and conversations at the Governor's Mansion with other local and state leaders on important issues. Furthermore, in 1961, Sanford and his director of the State Board of Conservation and Development, Hargrove "Skipper" Bowles, worked to successfully integrate the state parks system that summer.<sup>78</sup> It became evident to Sanford and other political leaders across the South that the Civil Rights Movement was intensifying with the rise of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and other similar organizations, along with events such as the jailing of 1200 protestors in Greensboro.<sup>79</sup> Thus, Sanford and his advisors determined that neither inaction nor rash, confrontational responses would

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<sup>74</sup> James Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart: An Autobiography of the Civil Rights Movement*, (New York: Arbor House, 1985), 240.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 242.

<sup>76</sup> Paul Luebke, *Tar Heel Politics* (2000), 2nd ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 141-142.

<sup>77</sup> Covington Jr. and Ellis, 251.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 276.

<sup>79</sup> Rob Christensen, 193.

be practical solutions and would not be consistent with the "North Carolina Way" of seeking compromise on desegregation issues. However, as he continued to visit and talk to people in communities and schools across the state, Sanford would eventually recognize the need for a statement on the issues of desegregation and civil rights.

On his visits across the state, Sanford spent a significant time visiting schools in order to encourage future generations to seize the opportunities available to them and to ensure the students, their teachers, and parents that government would provide the children of the state with these opportunities. However, when he visited Negro schools Sanford reported feeling as though his words were mocking and pointless as the opportunities he spoke of were limited for poor whites and Negroes.<sup>80</sup> As Robert Korstad and James Leloudis describe, "time spent with black schoolchildren worked a change in Sanford. It began to pull back the cloak of caution that he had wrapped so snugly around himself during the 1950s. It also prodded him to reassess his understanding of discrimination, deprivation, and the connections that drew the two tightly together."<sup>81</sup> As a result of these experiences, Sanford's relative silence on issues of race and integration bothered him to the point that he called for a breakfast meeting to discuss a prepared statement known as "Observations for a Second Century." Prior to this meeting, Sanford had called John Ehle, a young writer from UNC, to meet with him to discuss this statement prior to the meeting which included twenty-five state and local leaders, including six Negroes.<sup>82</sup> Although Ehle would later become Sanford's "idea man" as he helped formulate proposals for the North Carolina School of the Arts, the Governor's School, and the North Carolina Fund, at the time he was occupied with Sanford's "Observations for a Second Century." In this statement, the governor presented his views on the racial issues that he avoided during the campaign and he planned to discuss the statement at the breakfast meeting regarding whether or not it should be made public. In his book in *The Free Men* Ehle recorded his thoughts as he realized "that this would be the first time in history that a Southerner white governor of a state had taken a stand openly, avowedly in favor of Negro rights."<sup>83</sup> The next morning, Sanford presented "Observations for a Second Century," to the group at breakfast and it received the support of the majority of those who attended. Among those who felt that the governor's statement did not go far enough included civil rights leader John Wheeler who criticized it as being too moderate and not going far enough to end discrimination through the passage of new laws, which Sanford claimed would be difficult,

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<sup>80</sup> Terry Sanford, *But What About The People?*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 123.

<sup>81</sup> Korstad and Leloudis, 50.

<sup>82</sup> John Ehle, *The Free Men*, (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1965), 56-57.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid*, 59.

if not impossible, given the political climate in the General Assembly.<sup>84</sup> With this support and conviction, Sanford planned to enter into the dangerous territory with his recognition that Negroes had legitimate grievances and that if North Carolina was moving forward, it would have to be a unified effort that involved both blacks and whites.

Terry Sanford chose to present this statement on January 1963 in Chapel Hill for two reasons, as Ehle described, "Governor Sanford had made his announcement in the most public forum he could find, and in the town he must have known was best able to lead the way."<sup>85</sup> As Ehle reported, Sanford's decision to speak in Chapel Hill was fitting as it was the town in which he was introduced to Frank Porter Graham and he began his discovery that something was inherently wrong with Jim Crow as it existed in North Carolina and the South. Sanford set the tone for his speech from the outset as his opening line declared "The American Negro was freed from slavery one hundred years ago. In this century, he has made much progress, educating his children, building churches, entering into the community and civic life of a nation."<sup>86</sup> Ehle wrote in *The Free Men* that many in the audience were startled by this opening sentence as the black waiters and members of the Carolina Inn audience had stopped momentarily as the governor continued by declaring that blacks' inability to gain and maintain good jobs had created a stumbling block to the progress of a race, a state, and a nation.<sup>87</sup> Using this statement as a backdrop, Sanford proceeded to detail the creation of the "Good Neighbor Council," a transformational and unique group of appointed officials that would be charged with the duty of eliminating employment practices that discriminated on the basis of race.<sup>88</sup> It did not take long for Sanford's stand to make national headlines as he drew praise from both state and national leaders, including the Kennedy's, while conservatives immediately lambasted the governor for "waving the white flag" and providing a victory for the NAACP, Communism, and the liberal, Catholic "Kennedy Machine."<sup>89</sup> Despite these reactions, the speech at Chapel Hill allowed Sanford to publicly establish his moderate stance on the issue of race, which proved important as his handling of racial tensions would be a focal point of the last few years of his term.

Despite Sanford's bold actions to improve education, pass a "food tax," and his attempt to eliminate racial discrimination in hiring practices, more and more legislators and voters began to question whether Sanford was the moderate, southern segregationist he portrayed during his campaign, or

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<sup>84</sup> Covington Jr. and Ellis, 295.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid, 62.

<sup>86</sup> Mitchell, 578-579.

<sup>87</sup> Ehle, 61.

<sup>88</sup> Mitchell, 580.

<sup>89</sup> Covington Jr. and Ellis, 297.

if he was more of a pro-civil rights, Kennedy Democrat. As a result, many of his supporters in the General Assembly faced tough reelection battles prior to the 1963 session, and although the vast majority were reelected, Republicans now had their largest number of representatives in the General Assembly since Reconstruction.<sup>90</sup> As Sanford anticipated that legislators would be increasingly cautious about supporting his agenda, surprisingly, positive news opened the start of the session as it was reported that state tax revenues were higher than expected and as the General Assembly overwhelmingly approved an extension of Sanford's education program.<sup>91</sup> Furthermore, the General Assembly also passed a bill that approved the creation of the North Carolina School of the Arts, a brainchild of John Ehle, in another somewhat unexpected legislative victory for the governor. However, despite these successes, conservatives enacted some measure of revenge for the governor's hesitancy to denounce integration and civil rights demonstrations with the passage of the "Speaker Ban Bill" towards the end of the 1963 session. As college campuses had been centers of civil rights unrest during the late 1950's and 1960's, conservative lawmakers passed this bill as a means of "sending a message" to liberals, civil rights leaders, and protestors and without a veto power, Sanford could do nothing to prevent its passage. The bill prohibited speakers on state-supported campuses that were known members of the Communist Party or had pleaded the 5th Amendment and refused to answer questions regarding their connections with the Communist Party.<sup>92</sup> Furthermore, given the liberal reputation of UNC Chapel-Hill, it was a frequent target of Jesse Helms for its tolerance of Negroes and liberals, the bill was considered by university president William Friday and Sanford to be both unfair and infringing on free speech.<sup>93</sup> Although the Speaker Ban Bill would later be declared unconstitutional, at the time, it served as one of Sanford's few legislative defeats and it brought negative national attention to the state by damaging the state's progressive reputation and as a perceived attempt by hardline segregationists to incite constituents racial fears and prejudices as the rhetoric on both sides intensified and the governor continued to seek the middle ground.

As the General Assembly completed the 1963 session with mixed results, from Sanford's perspective, shocking stories emerged from across the South in the coming weeks regarding the brutality of Bull Connor's "Bombingham" campaign, along with the assassination of Medger Evans, and George Wallace's "speech at the schoolhouse door." However, North Carolina

<sup>90</sup> Ibid, 306-307.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid, 307.

<sup>92</sup> Sen. Henson P. Barnes, *Work in Progress: The North Carolina Legislature*, (Raleigh: North Carolina General Assembly, 1993), 312.

<sup>93</sup> William A. Link, "William Friday and the Speaker Ban Crisis, 1963-1968." *North Carolina Historical Review* 72 (April 1995): 200-201.

was not immune to such unrest as demonstrators in Raleigh, Durham and Greensboro filled the jails leading Sanford to put the National Guard on standby, but they would never be called upon to confront protestors.<sup>94</sup> Sanford recognized that the protestors had a right to protest as long as they conducted themselves in a “peaceful” manner, so he refused to use the power of law enforcement to establish order.<sup>95</sup> In order to quell the unrest and avoid violence in the city of Greensboro, Sanford met with student and university leaders, including a young Jesse Jackson and convinced them to place a moratorium on their marches and sit-ins and to devote their energies into less controversial avenues by producing a series of films about their struggles.<sup>96</sup> As Sanford attempted to mediate between the two sides, many leaders and citizens grew tired of his gradualism and they expressed this discontent by marching on the governor’s mansion during a concert for the governor and other state leaders. The demonstrators conducted their protest peacefully but demanded that the governor address their grievances, Sanford responded by using the transparent and conciliatory style that had exemplified his leadership. He began by responding directly to the protestors as he acknowledged that their concerns and desires were legitimate, while also arguing that such issues could not be addressed through neither the “bully pulpit” nor through violent protests.<sup>97</sup> Although demonstrations continued in communities throughout the state, Sanford continued to serve as a mediator between local authorities and civil rights leaders as he used his “executive influence” to pressure local leaders into making small concessions on integration with assurances from civil rights leaders that marches would be limited or even ended. As a result of these efforts, an estimated twenty-percent of restaurants in Charlotte were desegregated, while the city of Asheville made similar progress, and Fayetteville officials worked to end discriminatory hiring practices.<sup>98</sup> Through these tactics Sanford delivered on his campaign promise to avoid the presence of federal troops and racial violence that had existed in southern states that employed “massive resistance” policies. Furthermore, Sanford also continued to guide the state along the path of political moderation set forth by his predecessors, while simultaneously making progress towards moving North Carolina forward in terms of racial equality.

As a major part of Terry Sanford’s transformation from a cautious gradualist on issues of race involved his visits to Negro schools across the

<sup>94</sup> Covington Jr. and Ellis, 313.

<sup>95</sup> Terry Sanford, 1986. Interviewed by Brent Glass, December 16 and 18, Interview C-0038, transcript, Southern Oral History Program Collection (#4007) in the Southern Oral History Program Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

<sup>96</sup> Christensen, 193.

<sup>97</sup> Covington Jr. and Ellis, 315.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid*, 318-319.

state while he touted his education plan. Although Sanford changed not just as a result of this experience in black schools, but as well with the sight of schoolchildren attending schools in poor areas demonstrated to the governor that these future generations could not maximize the opportunities presented to them as they were surrounded by people and conditions that were mired in poverty and thus had no way to escape this “cycle of poverty.”<sup>99</sup> During one of his more notable visits, Sanford spoke at a rural mountain school where he and John Ehle met a girl named Mellisa who appeared to him as a brilliant child, but who did not seem to “fit in” with school because she had no father and her family had not adequately prepared her nor had they emphasized the importance of an education.<sup>100</sup> At this point, American journalists and politicians at the state and national level began to investigate how widespread and extreme poverty could exist in, arguably, the world’s most affluent nation. Literature such as Michael Harrington’s *The Other America*, Edward Banfield’s *The Moral Basis of a Backwards Society*, and the writings of figures such as John Kenneth Gailbraith all influenced policymakers and “idea men” such as John Ehle to consider ways in which government could work to ameliorate the causes and effects of poverty in America.<sup>101</sup> As a result of these influences, Ehle looked toward the work of private philanthropy, as going through the legislature would be impossible, for formulating anti-poverty programs. Ehle had familiarized himself with the Ford Foundation, at the time the largest philanthropic organization in America, and their “Gray Areas” initiative in Oakland and he recommended that Sanford contact Foundation President Henry Heald and Public Affairs officer Paul Ylvisaker about developing a similar program in the state.<sup>102</sup> Coincidentally, at the time, the Ford Foundation desired to translate a “Gray Areas” program into rural areas, especially in the South, although they had avoided such a risky investment previously due to the possibility of racial violence. However, this time, Ylvisaker and Ford had the moderate ally they needed to establish such a program in Sanford and in a state where thirty-seven percent of the population lived on an annual, family income of less than \$3,000.<sup>103</sup>

After numerous meetings between Ford’s staff and Sanford and his advisors, the governor’s office submitted a formal proposal to the Foundation with the intention of empowering local governments and actors to work with

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<sup>99</sup> Terry Sanford, “Poverty’s Challenge to the States,” *Law and Contemporary Problems*. Vol. 31, no. 1 (January 1966): 77-89.

<sup>100</sup> Terry Sanford, *But What About The People?*, (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1966), 121-123.

<sup>101</sup> Korstad and Leloudis, 59.

<sup>102</sup> *Change Comes Knocking: The Story Of The North Carolina Fund*, DVD- ROM. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010.

<sup>103</sup> Korstad and Leloudis, 58.

impoverished citizens and address their various needs. This plan reflected both Sanford's belief in "a revitalized federalist system" and improved upon his educational program, as he said "the children of poverty need special breaks if they are to be able to compete in our school system."<sup>104</sup> With Heald and other Ford officials visits to the state and as they witnessed the conditions created by Jim Crow and an economy that did not reflected modernization, along with the impressive proposal submitted by Sanford's team, they agreed to commit \$7 million to the program, and along with subsequent grants from the Z. Smith Reynolds and Mary Babcock Reynolds Foundations, the North Carolina Fund was incorporated with a war chest of some \$14 million and five years to implement the program.<sup>105</sup> On July 18, 1963, Sanford released a statement on the creation of the Fund in which he stated the purpose of the non-governmental body was "to find new and better ways to improve education, economic opportunities, living environment, and general welfare of the people."<sup>106</sup> The North Carolina Fund would come to exemplify a unique program that manifested Sanford's goal for North Carolina to be a national leader and example that other states would seek to emulate.

The establishment of the North Carolina Fund continued the work of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal policies that targeted poverty in the rural South during the Depression. However, the Fund also marked the beginning of the national War on Poverty that would launched in the following years under President Johnson's Great Society initiatives. After the North Carolina Fund's incorporation, Sanford and the board moved quickly to name George Esser, an expert from the UNC Institute of Government, the director of the program and in turn, Esser and the Fund's board decided to establish their headquarters in a unique location, on Durham's Parrish Street, near the center of the city's black area.<sup>107</sup> Furthermore, Esser, Sanford and the Fund's leadership established that the program should operate with a two-pronged strategy to combat poverty, with one component being the Comprehensive School Improvement Program, while the other involved the development of Community Action Programs (CAPs) to coordinate anti-poverty efforts with local governments.<sup>108</sup> The education component continued on some of the state's improvements for education that the legislature passed in 1961, but it specifically targeted increased funding for grade levels from preschool to the third grade, while also providing additional training and other assistance for

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<sup>104</sup> Daniel J. Elazar, "In Memoriam: Terry Sanford," *Oxford Journals*. (January 1998): 259-261.; Terry Sanford, *But What About The People?*, (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1966), 129.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid*, 128.

<sup>106</sup> Mitchell, 601.

<sup>107</sup> Korstad and Leloudis, 89.

<sup>108</sup> Terry Sanford, *Storm Over The States*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Publishers, 1967), 174-175.

teachers and administration. This program's organization and work would be used as a template by the President Johnson and the Office of Economic Opportunity for developing what would become the HeadStart program.<sup>109</sup> Furthermore, the establishment of the CAPs created for fifty proposals that covered sixty-six counties that were submitted to the Fund's staff, of which eleven would be approved and funded. Of these counties, the staff ensured that they targeted high-poverty areas, such as three mountain projects, along with four in rural, agrarian eastern counties, and lastly four projects in urban areas, including inner-city Charlotte and "Operation Breakthrough," a project in the Fund's headquarter city of Durham.<sup>110</sup> In order for the the CAPs to implement their programs for job training and other services, they needed, what Korstad and Leloudis describe as "an army for the poor." This aspect of the CAPs would involve the creation of the North Carolina Volunteers, an integrated group of volunteers that was similar to a domestic Peace Corps and which would become a model for the VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America) program.<sup>111</sup> The North Carolina Volunteers would be a controversial part of the Fund's initiatives as they created "an army for the poor" that worked for the economic and political mobilization of the poor that was seen as a direct challenge to the Jim Crow power structure of many counties.<sup>112</sup> This aspect of the Fund's work and other aspects, such as integrated living arrangements for the Volunteers, created substantial controversy and outrage that would eventually lead to the Fund's termination in 1968. Thus, Sanford's open support for the North Carolina Fund as a radical program was a gamble that was not met with widespread support, although Sanford believed it was a necessary part of the state's rise to achieving a New Day. Although the success of the Fund in fighting poverty is debated, its work set into motion initiatives that would be continued under the federal War on Poverty and contributed to the long-term improvement of economic and social conditions in rural and urban areas. Furthermore, Sanford's outright support of the Fund supported the perception of him as a "modernizer" for his support of economic development and education, although according to George Esser, it was apparent that "the Ford Foundation was looking to the Fund to support the rights of black North Carolinians."<sup>113</sup> The combination of Sanford's creation of the Good Neighbor Council, his efforts at mediation for token integration, and his support of the North Carolina Fund as meaningful

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<sup>109</sup> Covington Jr. and Ellis, 332.

<sup>110</sup> Korstad and Leloudis, 97-103.

<sup>111</sup> Sanford, *Storm Over The States*, 175.

<sup>112</sup> Korstad and Leloudis, 103-104

<sup>113</sup> Oral History Interview with George Esser, June-August 1990. Interview L-0035. Southern Oral History Program Collection (#4007) in the Southern Oral History Program Collection, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.



policy to extend more opportunities to whites and blacks, demonstrated not just his continuation of “the North Carolina Way,” but of the first southern governor that openly endorsed policies and promote racial equality.

Governor Terry Sanford’s term as governor of North Carolina (1960-1964) was characterized by a “new southern moderation” as evident by his refusal to exploit racial fears and prejudices for political gain, along with his emphasis on modernizing the state’s educational and economic systems through his legislative agenda and the creation of the North Carolina Fund. Due to Sanford’s successes in winning the governorship as a southern moderate and by his ability to advance and implement policies to improve the quality of life for all citizens and take small steps toward racial equality, North Carolina and the South would undergo major changes in the years that followed. With Sanford and his moderate Democratic colleagues increased open acceptance, and even support, of the Kennedy and Johnson Civil Rights agenda, coupled with the rise of Goldwater Conservatism and Nixon’s “Southern Strategy,” the end of one- party dominance for the Democrats of North Carolina and the South was set into motion. As a result of this trend, prominent leaders of the conservative wing of the state Democratic Party, namely Jesse Helms and Lauch Faircloth, became part of a regional political trend by shifting their support to the Republican Party. With these developments, the days of the “Solid South” and one-party dominance would soon end as the Republican Party gained members who had supported the campaigns of conservative leaders such as Helms and I. Beverly Lake. Furthermore, Sanford’s campaign strategy, political ideology, and policies which allowed him to be elected and serve as a moderate, Democratic governor would become relevant models for a new generation of moderate, southern governors, among them James Hunt, William Winter, Jimmy Carter, and Bill Clinton. All of these men supported major educational improvement and economic development initiatives during their terms as governor and for those that served during the end of the Civil Rights era, Sanford’s campaign strategy on avoiding racial issues was emulated and contributed to their electoral successes. However, perhaps the most positive and direct results of Terry Sanford’s service as governor have been evident in the modern development of North Carolina. For example, although Luther Hodges had first initiated the Research Triangle Park, it was Sanford’s emphasis on investing in the future of the state’s educational system and his adept handling of the civil rights demonstrations that effectively negated the possibility of violent conflict and closed schools. With these these decisions coupled with his close relationship with the Kennedy administration, Sanford, like his predecessors and successors, supported the industrial and research investments, from both the private and public sectors, that contributed to North Carolina’s rise in becoming a national leader in areas such as medical research and biotechnology. Furthermore,

these investments strengthened North Carolina's university and secondary school systems, while they also allowing the state to more easily transition to a service-based economy with the loss of manufacturing jobs. Despite the risk of losing political capital and disrupting the status quo, Terry Sanford chose to use his four years as governor to lead North Carolina from a comfortable, yet divisive past into an ambitious future that saw it become a leader on the regional and national stages as part of achieving the New Day he had promised.

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“The Shadow It Throws”:  
Assia Djébar’s *The Tongue’s Blood Does Not Run Dry*  
and Algeria’s Attempted Islamic Revolution

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After achieving independence from France in 1962, Algeria seemed poised to become a great leader of democracy in the Muslim world. In reality, when the victorious FLN (Front de Libération Nationale) succeeded to power, they failed to provide the people of Algeria with the stability and success necessary to a stable government, which slowly lost its legitimacy. In the 1980s, opposition from Islamic groups increased, culminating in the FIS (Front Islamique du Salut) electoral victories of 1991 and 1992. The subsequent military coup effectively nixing the election results catalyzed a long and blood conflict with all the elements of jihad, civil war, and revolution. Graham E. Fuller notes in his 1996 study of the conflict that the Islamist attempt “to create a new society” is revolutionary due to its pursuit of political power (*Algeria* 51). Although the conflict is certainly not fully resolved, the attempted revolution would appear to have failed at this point. This study seeks to more clearly determine what, exactly, the 1990s conflict was and how such components have perhaps influenced the Algerian writer Assia Djébar. It suggests that religious-nationalism and anti-Westernism, plus frustration with the Westernized government, were strong contributors to the attempted Islamic revolution, and that the Islam vs. West conflict of identity is highly visible in Assia Djébar’s *The Tongue’s Blood Does Not Run Dry*.

The modern country of Algeria covers 2,381,741 square kilometers, four-fifths of which is desert (Metz xviii). The four main cities include Algiers, Oran, Constantine, and Annaba, all of which are situated on or near the coastline (“About Algeria”). As of July 2012, the population was 35,406,303 (“Algeria”), an increase from the 1993 estimate of 27.4 million (Metz xviii). The area that is now Algeria has a long history of invaders, from the Byzantines to the original Islamic-Arabs of the 7th century (Evans 16). Islam really took hold under the Berber dynasties, from 1054-1212 (Evans 19); during that time, Arabs tended to congregate on the plains, while the original Berbers tended to congregate in the mountains (Evans 20). The Ottoman rule established in 1689 established “Algeria” as a “geopolitical entity” (Evans 24). Later Islamists in the twentieth century would hearken back to the Ottomans as an ideal, “religiously unified entity” (Evans 24).

One hundred and thirty-two years of French rule began in 1830 when the French captured Algiers (Evans 1). During the French colonial period, the French not only took over the land, but in many ways took over the culture, especially of the elites (Evans 3). By 1954, Algeria contained just under one million European settlers (Evans 38). John Phillips and Martin Evans attribute some of the rise of Islamization to the overwhelming French rule, as a reaction to preserve Algerian culture (41), and much of the growth in Arabization to the 1931 creation of the Association of Algerian Ulema (43). James D. Le Sueur equates the 1954 rise of the FLN to the beginning of the war in France (x). Major events of the subsequent revolution include the “Battle of Algiers,” which began in January 1957 (Le Sueur xi) and in 1960, the rise of French settlers in Algiers against the French government (xii). In March 1962, the Evian agreement led to a ceasefire, and in July 5, Algeria declared independence (Le Sueur xii).

The Algerian revolution against France was largely nationalist, containing the more primordial elements of (actually not so) simple Algerian vs. French and the more modern ideological element of a revolution against oppression discussed by Anthony D. Smith in his *National Identity*. Not only did the “ethnic” (non-European) Algerians want the French out, they wanted oppressors out. Following the revolution, nationalism became more complicated as the Algerian elites retained French cultural influence and Western influence in general under President Ahmed Ben Bella (1962-65) and Houari Boumediène (1965-78) (Evans 78-81). Boumediène attempted to establish state control of religion (Evans 85), but as the state and others attempted “to Arabize and de-Frenchify the school system” by bringing in teachers from other Arabized nations, such as Egypt, they ended up with a growing Arabized and Islamicized elite throughout the 1960s who smoldered against the continued Western influence in the military and government, and who would become the basis for the FIS (Kepel 163). The seeds of the 1990s conflict appear to have already existed in the anti-Western sentiment that partially fueled the revolution against the French, and to have continued in the succeeding decades. Already, Sheikh Abdelatif Soltani’s Al-Qiyam (Values), founded in 1963, had introduced the internal component of jihad into the Islamist movement (Evans 6-7). Despite the growing Arabization and Islamization, high-paying jobs still tended to go to French-speakers (Francophone), a source of frustration for the growing Arab-speaking (Arabophone) population (Evans 95). Although Boumediène’s system remained stable until his death (Evans 98), his attempts at land reform had failed (Evans 90-91). Meanwhile, Algeria ended up with a severe demographic imbalance, with 48% of the population under age 15 by 1977 (Evans 95).

Boumediène’s successor, Chadli Bendjedid also attempted some reforms prior to 1985, but the economy steadily worsened (Evans 116) and

Algerian frustration grew (Evans 118). The 1980 "Berber Spring," which challenged "the historical legitimacy of the regime" (Evans 124), also revealed a potential crack in the nationalist ideal of "Algeria" by highlighting the distinction between Arabized Algerians and Berber Algerians who accepted Islam but not Arabization. Chadli attempted to court the Islamic movement with such measures as the 1984 Family Code, which subordinated women entirely in direct opposition to the constitution (Evans 126-127). The institution of the Family Code brought opposition from female intellectuals, who were forced to publish in France (Evans 139). Evans and Phillips comment that "[r]ather than continually harking back to the war of liberation, these writers, for the most part writing in French, were anxious to reflect the subtle complexities of the new Algeria" (Evans 139). This shift in the literature may indicate a larger weakening of the nationalism of ideology.

Evans and Phillips also suggest that the rise in *hittiste* street culture, which blended French and Arabic, resulted from the regime's suppression of the youth (Evans 107-110). The "Black October" of 1988 revealed the youths' potential as a revolutionary force as they took to the streets against the regime and gained "their own heroes and their own dead" (Evans 142). Gilles Kepel attributes much of the youth's frustration to their education, which had raised their hopes but failed to prepare them for the job market that required French-speakers (158). Davis's model of the gap between expectation and achievement leading to frustration and aggression seems to fit the Algerian youth well (Mason 33). As the youth joined the Islamist movement, attacks on women who behaved in a Western manner grew (Evans 132-133).

In 1989, Chadli attempted further reforms that "guaranteed freedom of expression, association and meeting... formalized the separation of party and state and recognized the rights of Algerians to form their own political organizations" (Evans 144). As the FIS grew, however, so did the "tidal wave of religious fervour" (Evans 150). Fuller suggests that "the rigor and forcefulness of traditional Shari'a law and justice takes on an appeal that is invigorating and inspiring to stagnant and troubled societies such as... Algeria" (*The Future of Political Islam* 162). The jihadist elements already present since the establishment of a-Qiyam added to the Islamist youths foundation by making their fight against the establishment an activism "[b]ased on the will of God" as the FIS emphasized the moral depravity of the regime (Evans 151). Ray Takeyh and Nikolas K. Gvosdev suggest a correlation between the failure of "the imported Western models... to fulfill their promises" and the middle class turning towards the Islamist movements (40). Fuller suggests that for many Algerians, "the FIS represent[ed] the original and pure FLN vision" with the addition of more thorough Islamization (*Algeria* 36). According to Omar Carlier in "De l'islamisme a l'islamisme: la therapie politicoreligieuse du FIS," interpreting the FIS view, "the political class [had]



failed or betrayed the revolution; it must pay. Islam is retribution, but also the solution" (Quoted in Fuller, *Algeria* 37). Jonathan Hearn comments that "the nation and nationalism have often been seen as modern replacements for lost religious faith" (85), and Benedict Anderson suggests that nationalism might be more akin to religion than "-isms" like fascism (5). Algeria seems to follow the reverse of Hearn's comment, moving from nationalism based on ethnicity or political ideology to a sort of religious nationalism, undermining the legitimacy of a secular, Westernized government and military.

The local elections of June 1990 resulted in 54% for the FIS and only 28% for the FLN (Fuller, *The Future of Political Islam* 27), lending credence to Fuller's comment that the FIS "represented the grass roots of society" (*Algeria* 35). As the government attempted to manipulate the electoral system against the FIS, one FIS leader, Ali Belhadj, began the call for violence (Evans 163). In the July FIS conferences, the leaders considered the issue of whether or not to pursue "legal or revolutionary means" to power, revealing an important internal division amongst the Islamists (Evans 166). For the time being, the FIS remained committed to the legal path, gaining 188 out of 232 possible seats in the National Assembly in December 1991 (Le Sueur xiv). Chadli had already declared a state of siege in June (Le Sueur xiv), and in January 1992, the army stepped in and took over (Evans 171). The Haut Comité d'Etat (HCE; five-man junta now in charge) banned the FIS in March, and the army arrested FIS leaders (Le Sueur xv). In other words, the government started the fight, fitting rather well into Theda Skocpol's theory of the state as a stakeholder (29). Skocpol also defines a social revolution as "basic changes in social structure and in political structure occur[ring] together in a mutually reinforcing fashion" (4-5). Since the Islamists sought to gain control of the state to enact their social/moral reforms, especially following the coup, their original, legal attempts seem to fit the mold of a social revolution. The subsequent decade-long conflict fits as an attempt. Some elements of Hannah Arendt's focus on the importance of "freedom" in the drive for revolution also appear following the coup, since the FIS and other Islamist groups then had to fight for their freedom to even exist (1).

The violence, already existent, truly escalated in 1993 with the rise in the cities of the Groupe Islamique Armé (GIA), which promoted a "scorched-earth policy" of violence against anyone perceived to be against the GIA (Evans 186-187). The government's anti-terrorist forces also participated in the violations of human rights (Evans 188). The GIA in particular focused on the "francophone intellectuals who had supported the coup," especially "economically successful women," which Evans suggests acted as an affirmation of the perpetrators manhood and their "struggle to purify society" (Evans 191-192). Le Sueur compares the GIA's campaign against the intellectuals to Khomeini's fatwa against Salman Rushdie, noting that

Algerian writers generally had not protested the fatwa (171). In the autumn, the GIA expanded their killing to foreigners, which David Cook points to as a mistake that allowed the government to paint the Islamists in general as fanatics, “destroy[ing] the credibility of their case” (121). They also began violence in France (Evans 211-212). The FIS condemned the killings (Evans 196), and the GIA considered the FIS a sell-out (Evans 190). In July 1994, the FIS established the Armée Islamique du Salut (AIS) to counter the GIA (Evans 190). The GIA’s violence only continued, and they issued a statement in September 1995 stating their willingness “to slaughter and rape anyone who opposed” it (Quoted in Cook 120).

Although the voter turnout for the 1995 presidential election suggests that “ordinary people were yearning for a return to some sort of normality” (Evans 214), the economy continued downward with rising unemployment rates (Gerner 281). The GIA continued its violence into a policy of extermination from 1996 through the spring of 1998, continuing the damage to its “moral and political legitimacy” (Evans 218-219). In January 1996, the GIA leader, Djamel Zitouni, declared war on the FIS/AIS (Evans 221). In 1997, the GIA issued a declaration officially “divid[ing] the population into those who supported the GIA and those who did not, and therefore deserve to be killed as apostates” (Evans 223). The AIS, in contrast, “emphasized the political logic to their own violence, which was neither senseless nor uncontrolled,” demonstrating an awareness that the GIA posed a danger to the moral and political legitimacy to other Islamist groups as well (Evans 221). By this time, the regime’s Département du Renseignement et de la Sécurité (DRS) may have infiltrated the ranks of the GIA, further complicating the chaos of violence (Evans 223-224).

In November 1996, the government put in place a new Constitution that banned religion- or ethnic-based parties and limited presidential terms (Le Sueur xvii). GIA violence only escalated (Evans 233). Although a new party, the Rassemblement National Démocratique (RND) took 40% with a National Assembly majority in the June 1997 elections, the government failed to gain the population’s confidence (Evans 237). Violence continued, with questions as to whether or not the government was actually trying to protect Algerians from the GIA (Evans 237-239). Nesroullah Yous’ *Qui a Tué à Bentalha?* (Who Killed at Bentalha?) discusses suspicions amongst Algerians that some massacres may actually have been government forces “claiming” to be GIA (Evans 241). 1997-1998 finally saw some pressure from the European community to end the violence and human rights abuses (Evans 246). Until that time, outside nations had stayed largely uninvolved, a permissive world context that allowed both sides to function without a lot of outside pressure. In September 1997, the AIS announced a “ceasefire with government forces” (Le Sueur xvii), and the regime made some “superficial

attempts at dealing with human rights abuses" (Evans 247). Although early 1998 saw some reduction in violence, it resumed in June (Evans 248). The world context remained largely permissive, with a call from the UN to end the bloodshed, but not much else (Evans xiv). The Algerian government admitted over 100,000 dead (an average of 500/week) in 1999, but outside experts suggest the figure may actually be double that (Evans xiv).

The April 1999 elections probably had only about a 20% turnout, and they were not entirely "fair," but they "stressed the theme of reconciliation" (Evans 255-259). Although there were protests in Algiers and Oran, the violence west of Algiers lessened (Evans 258-259). In the summer of 1999, the new President Bouteflika began negotiations with AIS leaders that resulted in a truce in June (Evans 262). The referendum for Bouteflika's Law on Civil Concord, "granting limited amnesty" to former members of the AIS (Le Sueur xviii), passed with a 98.6% approval rate on 85% turnout (Evans 263). Evans suggests that despite the apparent willingness to "forget" the past, Algerians may actually have been less than enthusiastic over the civil concord that allowed many of the perpetrators to go free (263). When violence resurged in the last three months of 2000 (Evans 265), civilians, especially journalists and intellectuals refused to remain silent or turn a blind eye (Evans 267-269). Discontent with the president continued, especially in the youth, as life in general continued to deteriorate, with 27% of the population below the UN's poverty line (Evans 270-271), especially following the November 2001 flash floods, which resulted in part from government neglect (Evans 272) and the May 2003 earthquake in Bourmerdés, to which the government failed to respond (Evans 273). Even so, in the 2002 "pseudo-elections," which only had about 46% turnout, the FLN gained a majority in the National Assembly over several other parties (Evans 279-280).

In 2003, General Larimi declared the decade of violence over (Evans 283-284). 2003 also saw confirmation that the United States would provide the Algerian government with some military support (Le Sueur xix). The government continued to pressure Islamist groups out of existence (Evans 286-287) and censorship actually grew (Evans 289). Bouteflika was reelected in the April 2004 elections (Evans 288), and a September 2005 charter provided further amnesty for both government forces and Islamist groups (Evans 290). Relations with France deteriorated, and the interior struggles continued within the regime (Evans 295). Despite Larimi's declaration, violence continued with the May 2007 bombings in Algiers (Evans 296) and general frustration and discontent seems to continue (Evans 297-298). The former GSPC, an Islamist group originally somewhere between the FIS and GIA (Evans 259-260) linked itself with al Qaeda (officially) in 2006, with a name change to Al Qaeda au Maghreb Islamique (AQMI) in 2007 (Le Sueur xix-xx). The AQMI continued bomb attacks throughout Algeria (Le

Sueur xx). In November 2008, the parliament removed the presidential term limits, and Bouteflika won his third term in April 2009 ("Background Note: Algeria"). Finally, in 2011, the government "lift[ed] the 19-year-old state of emergency restrictions" ("Algeria"). According to the CIA *World Factbook*, "Political protest activity in the country remained low in 2011, but small, sometimes violent socioeconomic demonstrations by disparate groups continued to be a common occurrence" ("Algeria"). In short, although the violence appears to have receded, the violence is not necessarily over; while the secular government has more or less established control, the Islamist elements are by no means gone from Algeria.

Algeria's currently failed Islamist revolution does not fit one common attribute of revolutions, which may have contributed to its failure: the intellectuals as a large group did not join the revolution wholeheartedly. According to Brinton, the intellectuals need to "transfer [their] allegiance" (251). Some did. The 1960s Islamization of education also brought in an Arabization, creating an Arabized/Islamicized intellectual elite, many of whom were a part of the FIS from the beginning (Kepel 162-163). However, not nearly all of the intellectual elite joined. Women writers like Assia Djebar not only objected to the Islamization, they wrote of the situation of women in Algeria following independence (Evans 139). Francophone intellectuals and even Berber elites became particular targets of the GIA (Evans 191). Killing intellectuals like the Kabyle writer Tahar Djaout in 1993 attracted negative national and international attention (Le Sueur 181), and he was only one of many to receive death threats (Evans 191). The negative attention the GIA campaign against intellectuals received likely contributed to Algerians' lack of enthusiasm for them. FIS reactions against the GIA's general violence suggest that negative perceptions of the GIA also reflected badly upon the FIS, further damaging the Islamist cause.

Assia Djebar epitomizes the sort of intellectual the GIA targeted, writing novels, poetry, plays, and short stories, besides producing films (Liukkonen). Ironically, though Djebar participated on the Algerian side in the revolution against the French, Djebar is an Algerian expatriate living in France and writing in French. Though she is widely read in Europe and North America, Djebar's major works "have not been translated into Arabic in her native Algeria" (Liukkonen). She is most known for writing on the position of women in Algeria and on conflicting cultures (Hoft-March 935). *The Tongue's Blood Does Not Run Dry* (2006), originally published as *Oran, langue morte* (1997), is a collection of seven short stories. Djebar calls *Oran, langue morte* "the book [she is] most personally attached to, because all seven of its novellas are documentary," each having originated from a conversation in Paris (Quoted in "A Brief Conversation" 15). Six of the seven are set in the violence of the 1990s ("A Brief Conversation" 15), but many of them seem

almost to “float” in time, as if they could have occurred at any time during the decade, some even outside of the decade. Recurring themes include (women’s) oppression, displacement, and fractured identities torn between Islam and the West. The fractured identity is crystallized in the linguistic conflict between French and Arabic, reflecting Djebbar’s view that “[a]ll that is alive in Algeria ... is always in a constant bilingualism, or *trilingualism* with a living dialectical Arabic, with Arabic and Berber, with Berber and French” (Rice 78).

“Burning” deals with uncertainty of identity and the entanglement of the past and present. Slowly, Djebbar unwinds the story of Isma, an Algerian woman who speaks French, Arabic, and Berber. First, Isma tells her story, writing in her notebook and in a letter of her struggle between a passion for the foreign Omar and her affection and duty for her husband, Ali. While the title, “Burning,” seems on one level to refer to her physical desire, unmet by her husband and ignited by Omar, Isma herself seems to suggest a much deeper meaning. In the many scenes with Omar, Isma hints and dances around the suggestion of her physical passion, focusing instead on her soul’s response to his speaking Arabic. For Isma, French is her language of neutrality, the language which “disguise[s] everything,” while “her” dialect, which seems to be an Algerian-Arabic dialect, would “carr[y] away” her voice and reveal her interest (Djebbar, “Burning” 50). Later, when her husband makes love to her, she describes her body’s arousal as separate from her soul, which is “on high, hovering above [their] two bodies” as she seeks to comfort Ali following his grandmother’s death (Djebbar, “Burning” 65). Her realization of just how far she has shifted from the dutiful wife to having an emotional affair comes when she says, not “Ali” but “Omar” at the height of their bodies’ passion. From then on, Isma moves farther and farther from her identity as Ali’s wife and closer to that of Omar’s love and a free woman, separating from her husband and following Omar temporarily to Europe.

The narrator shifts partway through the story, setting Isma’s notebook and letter within the framework of Ali discovering them after her death. In Isma’s eyes, at least, Ali’s attachment to his grandmother, who raised him following his parents’ death, damages their own relationship. Isma sees herself in the position “of a friend, a sister, a cousin,” not a wife (Djebbar, “Burning” 63). When Ali finds the notebook, he sees it as a chance “to rediscover her,” as if he had not truly known her before her death (Djebbar, “Burning” 78). Djebbar concludes with Ali’s thoughts, “She’s on her way [to burial], in her unspoiled beauty... I will look after her!” as if only after her death, he thinks of himself as her protector (Djebbar, “Burning” 81). He assigns an identity to Isma, one which focuses on her beauty. Even after her death, Isma’s identity seems fluid.

The structure of the story reinforces the cloudiness of identity and entangles the past with the present. Within the frame, the narrator switches

between a notebook and a letter; Isma and Ali; and first and third person. The reader “hears” Isma through her own voice, filtered through reminiscence, a conversation with her dead friend Nawal, and the letter to Omar. The reader “hears” Ali through the third person and through his own thoughts. The narrator’s identity, then, is as fluid as Isma’s. Within each narrator, Djebbar shifts chronology, constantly moving back and forth, sometimes years, sometimes days, and sometimes only hours. In one sense, she repeats information the reader has already heard, but from a different perspective, or expanded. The outer frame of Ali’s third-person appears to be set in late 1993 or early 1994, but Isma’s narration stretches back at least two, possibly three years when she reminisces about her relationship with Omar. At one point, she speaks of Ali’s childhood in 1960. The constant shifting, twining each time to the others, reinforces one of the stories threads: the present is dependent on the past. Ali’s over-attachment to his grandmother stems from his parents’ death. Isma’s spark with Omar begins over the language of her childhood.

Djebbar never reveals the full details of Isma’s death; all she gives is “[t]hree bullets to the heart” (Djebbar, “Burning” 81). Her broad linguistic knowledge and her association with the women’s demonstration suggests that she is a fairly Westernized intellectual. Her discomfort with her pious Muslim grandmother-in-law and her work with Omar further suggests her Westernization. She is also a woman who wants “to separate” from her husband (Djebbar, “Burning” 80), and she admits at several points that her relationship with Omar is not exactly discreet. Her death, if it does occur in late 1993 or early 1994, would correspond to the rise of GIA killings, many of which targeted Westernized women, suggesting that Isma was a victim of one of the Islamist groups.

“The Woman in Pieces” is also structurally complicated, telling four stories, only one of them complete. The outer frame, the more or less completed story is the story of Atyka, a Westernized female teacher teaching Scheherazade’s tales. Djebbar cuts back and forth between Atyka speaking to her students and the particular story she teaches. In the story within Djebbar’s story, the Abbasid caliph and his vizier Djaffar seek to unravel a third story, in which a jealous husband murders his innocent wife on the belief that she bestowed her favors on another man. Before readers can learn if the supposed “other man” dies, Djaffar begins the story of two brothers. Atyka’s death at the hands of “gendarmes” and a hunchback cuts these three stories off.

Atyka is a Westernized intellectual, the child of Berber parents who spoke Arabic and French, who now teaches French but who was “good in Arabic... in Arabic linguistics, in Islamic exegesis, [and] a specialist in Muslim law” (Djebbar, “The Woman” 99). Although the narrator calls the killers “gendarmes,” implying a connection to the Francophone military

government, the hunchback's accusation, that Atyka teaches "obscene stories," and his statement, "She is condemned!" suggest that they may not be what they seem (Djebar, "The Woman" 99). As with Isma in "Burning," the suggestion that her killers are GIA-like Islamists seems very possible. The confusion, however, may actually fit the setting more than total clarity would. Although the GIA did target educated, successful women, not all supposed GIA attacks could be certainly identified as such. The suddenness of the murder, in addition to the confusion, reinforces the chaos of the violence in the 1990s.

The four tales told in "The Woman in Pieces" are intertwined, connecting to each other in different ways, and the narrator shifts with each piece and within each piece. Although the story is told in third person, the "person" changes from Atyka to Scheherazade to the young couple (both of them, switching as the scene demands) to Djaffar to Atyka's student Omar. The chronology shifts with the narrator, from Atyka's time to Scheherazade's to Djaffar's. The stories also mirror one another—Scheherazade and Djaffar's storytelling to save a life; the two brothers' fight and the caliph's threat to his best friend, Djaffar; the two young women in pieces, their bodies prepared in the same way after death; and others. The long-ago past and the present intertwine, culminating in their connection when Atyka dies.

The unnamed wife's situation, murdered by the husband who dearly loves her, echoes a comparison Djebar makes in *Women of Islam*, between Western views of women and "Moslem" views (12). According to Djebar, from the traditional Muslem viewpoint, "it is for a man to honour his wife by protecting her and sheltering her—to the extreme, like a precious, idle princess!—rather than exposing her, showing her off" (*Women of Islam* 13). He does so because she is "his most respected and cherished possession" (Djebar, *Women of Islam* 13). From the Muslem viewpoint, "freeing" a woman by exposing her publicly "can be seen as a profound betrayal" (Djebar, *Women of Islam* 13). Perhaps in this dichotomy, the unnamed wife demonstrates that first sense, the "princess" who is also a possession, loved and jealously protected, the one driving the other. Atyka, then, might almost be the Westernized Moslem woman who has betrayed Islam by exposing herself as a "professor of French" (Djebar, "The Woman" 99), and perhaps by teaching French, she betrays her Algerian heritage as well, as the Francophone government did in the eyes of the Islamists.

The story "Félicie's Body" takes a different tack than the previous two. Occurring in France as well as Algeria, it proceeds with a more straightforward chronology and narration. The basic plot begins with the Frenchwoman Félicie returning to France from her fifty-year home in Algeria. When she finally dies, her children must decide what to do with her body—bury her in France or in Algeria with her husband. Woven around the

basic plot are the two primary narrators reminiscences. Her son Armand/Karim (later Karim/Armand) functions as the dominant narrator, with his sister Ourdia/Louise describing Félicie's death.

Of Félicie's eight children, four live in Algeria and four in France. Each child, now an adult, has two names, one Muslim and one French. The children choose their preferred name depending on which country they have chosen as their own. Unlike Félicie, the children seem entirely unable to function as both French and Algeria; they must choose between the two. The difficulty in choosing their mother's burial place rests partly on the children's fractured identities. Marie, who has completely rejected Algeria, wants their mother buried in France. The "Algerian" children make the point that in order to be buried in Algeria, she must be a "Muslim." Karim/Armand, the child who seems most disoriented by his double identity, seems most determined that she be buried in Algeria, even though he has chosen France. In the end, the children decide that since Karim/Armand spoke the *chahadda* over her in her last moments, she is a Muslim, and they rename her "Yasmina" in accordance with her late conversion. As her grandson puts it, by having two names, his "grandmother will finally be like all of her children" (Djebar, "Félicie's Body" 179).

And yet, she is not. Félicie retained much of her French identity, from her own name to naming her children to keeping her French citizenship, even while she lived in Algeria, referring to the city of Oran as "home" on multiple occasions. In one flashback to the days immediately following Algeria's independence, a "little hoodlum" threatens Félicie because she is a foreigner. A gift from her husband, a "little golden Koran" on a necklace saves her, deterring her assailant from cutting her throat. She says to him, "I won't leave [Oran]! This is my home, here!" (Djebar, "Félicie's Body" 199). In light of Félicie's sentiments, Karim/Armand's insistence that they bury her in Algeria seems right. One critic, Eilene Hoft-March, suggests that Félicie's burial in Algeria "offers cultural reconciliation," in the figure of Félicie, the Frenchwoman who loved Algeria and takes her final rest in its earth (936).

In Karim/Armand's final narration, just prior to Félicie's narration of her body's return to Algeria, Karim/Armand recasts Félicie's encounter with the "little hoodlum" of 1962. This time, Karim/Armand ends with a question, as the knife descends to her throat, "Who will save her?" (Djebar, "Félicie's Body" 204). The passage shifts Félicie from simply a Frenchwoman in Algeria almost to Algeria, as Karim/Armand connects "Félicie" to "Algérie" (Djebar, "Félicie's Body" 204). The passage suggests that Algeria, like Félicie, is not one or the other, but rather both French and Algerian, Western and Muslim. The question then becomes "Who will save Algeria" from the violence of today?

The last section of "Félicie's Body" is in the voice of the dead Félicie, describing her journey to the grave, and a third person unnamed



narrator, who describes visitors to her grave. Though Félicie calls herself “the foreigner,” she also describes Muslim women around her body as “sister[s]” (Djebar, “Félicie’s Body 206). She describes her actual burial as “plung[ing] laughing into the pit,” a fairly positive image of burial (Djebar, “Félicie’s Body 207). Despite her Frenchness, Félicie’s burial is her final homecoming. The third person narrator makes clear that whether they call her “Félicie or Yasmina,” she belongs in Algeria (Djebar, “Félicie’s Body 207). The final stanza of the poem that ends “Félicie’s Body” concludes with an image of “[w]omen converg[ing] from afar, each in her turn/ to hope and to find each other/ to sing and to chant/ “Bearing me to be borne off/ You or me with the body of Félicie!” (Djebar, “Félicie’s Body 208). Félicie has become an image of union, for the women “from afar,” and for Algeria and her French heritage. In contrast to Karim/Armand’s final image of violence and confusion, the story ends with a note of hope for union, for reconciliation.

To whom is Djebar writing, and why? Since she writes in French, not in Arabic, and since her work is not translated into Arabic in Algeria, she limits her audience in Algeria to French-speakers, the elite. Perhaps, though, she writes to the outside world. While she certainly deals with women’s issues, *The Tongue’s Blood Does Not Run Dry* does not simply end the discussion with “Islam oppresses women.” The situation of the women in the stories is far more complex. The murder at the center of “The Woman in Pieces” bears a striking resemblance to Western news stories of scorned lovers taking vengeance. Isma’s abandoned husband, in contrast, mails her letter to her lover, informing him of her death. These women, and their husbands, are more than the stereotypes of a domineering husband and his caged wife. Their stories become fluid, defying convention even in their structure. Many of the stories are even told by male narrators. Djebar does, however, deal repeatedly with the women who fall victim to extremists. One, “The Attack,” actually describes a woman whose husband is the victim due to his articles denouncing an unnamed group for being fanatics for power (he appears to be denouncing the Islamists; Djebar is not entirely clear on that point). In the afterword, Djebar calls them “stor[ies] of the women of the Algerian night,” of the “long night” gripping Algeria (Djebar, *The Tongue’s* 209). One critic refers to Djebar’s portrayals of Muslim women as “tear[ing] away the veil from the lives of Arab women” (Djebar, *The Tongue’s* back cover). To tell the truth, she does much more than that.

Assia Djebar becomes a storyteller, a “Scheherazade” for Algeria. Her Algeria is not only a place of violence and terror. If Djebar writes to the outside world, perhaps she does so to remind the world that Algeria is far more than simply another violent country in Africa. For Félicie, Algeria is home. In “Burning,” Isma describes the city’s dual identity, a violent present not entirely separated from its “former beauty,” “the double line of lights on

the waterfront giv[ing] the city the belt of a sultana or a prostitute" (Djebar, "Burning" 52). William Gass of *World Literature Today* says, "Assia Djebar... has given weeping its words and longing its lyrics" (Djebar, *The Tongue's* back cover). In one sense, *The Tongue's Blood Does Not Run Dry* seems to mourn for what Algeria could have been. In the afterword, Djebar herself comments that "the writing... of murder liberates... the shadow it throws (Djebar, *The Tongue's* 215), suggesting that perhaps she writes to "tear the veil" from the violence, "captur[ing] the drop of light that is to be harvested from terror's ink" (Djebar, *The Tongue's* 211).

Djebar, looking at Algeria from the outside commented in *World Literature Today* that she is "too far removed to pass judgment on what has transpired in Algeria since the 1990s" ("A Brief Conversation" 15). While, in one sense, she is simply "telling the stories," in another, as the storyteller, she must pass judgment on the events she describes. She must portray her characters in a positive or negative light, and she must portray Algeria. *The Tongue's Blood Does Not Run Dry* reflects the attempted revolution by presenting its violence, its chaos and its victims. Djebar's presentation deplores the violence, especially the violence directed against women. "Félicie's Body" also suggests what Djebar thinks could have been: an Algeria that accepted its full "translinguistic" potential," with its Berber, French, and Arabic influences (Rice 78). While Djebar may not "pass judgment" on the ends toward which either side worked, she certainly seems to pass judgment on the means they used to seek the ends. She hones in on the effects of the attempted revolution on "ordinary" Algerian women, her "sisters who are alarmed, expatriated, or under constant threats" (Djebar, *The Tongue's* 215), echoing Evans and Phillips statement that "By 1996 [when Djebar was writing these stories] Algeria had become a murky place with no dividing line between truth and untruth... [where] the dirty war on terror was shapeless... never-ending... where defenseless civilians were massacred at will" (225). Djebar does not seem to promote either the religious-nationalism of the Islamists or the Westernized government; she laments their tearing Algeria apart.

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## The Mythical 'O': Exploring Female Orgasm in Beat Generation Women's Writing

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*Collyn Warner*

### Introduction

Following World War II, the United States settled into a culture of routine, regimen, and uniformity. The illusion that nuclear families in suburban neighborhoods comprised most of the nation created a sense of stability. The Beat Generation was a creative group of people who promoted life's spontaneity in this post-war period, and this group served as a countermovement to the post-war cultural forces that created mainstream, identical America. Many writers in the group wrote of their experiences—freely and openly—as they quested to discover life's essence. When people think of the Beat Generation and its influential writers, they generally think of Jack Kerouac, Allen Ginsberg, and William Burroughs. People rarely think of the Beat women writers as important, but rather think of them only as adjuncts to men.

Women Beat writers such as Joyce Johnson, Carolyn Cassady, Brenda Frazer, Diane DiPrima, Hettie Jones, and Helen Weaver experienced breaks in consciousness and spiritual awakenings; they then opened up doors of perception for themselves and women in subsequent generations. They wrote about living independently, voicing opinions, drinking, smoking, having sex, having abortions, and dealing with contemporary gender restrictions. The Beat Generation women<sup>1</sup> were honest about their sexualities and they unabashedly wrote about their sexual experiences. Having an orgasm was and is part of women's self-perception and identity formation, and the Beat women relentlessly explored its meaning.

These women collectively used "orgasm" as a literary symbol to represent female liberation; before making it a literary symbol, they used orgasm as a living symbol for liberation during the Beat Generation. This life symbol became both a sociopolitical symbol and a social reality during 1960s' second-wave feminism. In turn, second-wave feminism later inspired some of these women to write memoirs. These women's orgasms became

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<sup>1</sup> Specifically for this study, Helen Weaver, Joyce Johnson, Hettie Jones, and Carolyn Cassady are examined.

society's female orgasms; their personal liberations became female society's liberations.

## Socio-Cultural Status Quo

The Beat Generation's time period needed liberation, as one of the most controversial contemporary writers researched and illustrated. Examining the status quo of housewifery, Betty Friedan studied 1950s women and deconstructed what became known as the "feminine mystique." In *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), Friedan applied sociological frameworks to women's responses of sexuality and domesticity. Based on an analysis of popular women's magazines of the day, she concluded that middle-class women in post World War II America created identities based only on familial roles and patriarchal expectations, rather than on individual needs and desires. She labeled the repressive gender ideals of the day "the feminine mystique." This notion of womanhood became the "self-perpetuating core of contemporary American culture" in post World War II America (16). As women did countless selfless works of domestic and childrearing activities, Friedan states that the housewife "was afraid to ask even of herself the silent question—'Is this all?'" (13). Women Beats answered this question with, "No!"

## The Beat Generation

Within this socio-cultural context, the Beat Generation emerged as a cultural and literary movement. It consisted of individuals who came of age in the 1940s and 1950s in the United States, and were exposed to events such as the atomic bomb, suburban sprawl, lost spiritualism, and increased materialism (Theado 17). They rejected the mainstream cultural identity of uniformity; they were hopeful that there was something more to life, and they searched for the spiritual qualities to gain life's essence. However, they searched for this end through unconventional means such as using alcohol and drugs, and having extramarital sex, which brought them negative criticism. It is through the spirit of such quests, though, that these Beat women began to question their life's essence as well.

To be "beat" is to be at the bottom of understanding individual essence and examining the weariness that accompanies this position. To be "beat" is to be spiritual. In the introduction to *The Portable Beat Reader*, Beat Generation scholar Ann Charters explains that Kerouac was entranced by the term "beat" as used by his friend, Herbert Huncke. The term alluded to something mysterious and sacred, not solely to the stage of being worn out (xviii). In a defining and foundational *New York Times* magazine

article entitled “This Is the Beat Generation,” published on November 16, 1952, John Clellon Holmes explains that the idea of being “beat” is “more than weariness, it implies the feeling of having been used, of being raw. It involves a sort of nakedness of mind, and, ultimately, of soul: a feeling of being reduced to the bedrock of consciousness” (44). This article establishes the complexity of the term: It joins the concepts of “mind” and “soul” by explaining that being “beat” means people must bring themselves down to the “bedrock of consciousness,” or to a fundamental awareness of themselves. Just as they searched for their bedrocks of consciousness on individual levels, the Beats shook the bedrock of America’s consciousness as a collective movement. Perhaps surprisingly, Beat women were “beat” in being portrayed as the “lesser” gender and as literally being “used.” They were moved to the foundation of their consciousness as women and, consequently, used the orgasm to help find this foundation.

### Women Beats’ Lives

The courageous women who addressed the powerful contemporary gender norms may be divided into three generations. The first generation includes those born in the 1910s and 1920s, such as Madeline Gleason, Helen Adam, Sheri Martinelli, Ruth Weiss, and Carole Bergé. These women were directly affected by World War II (and who were contemporaneous with Beat writers Kerouac, Ginsberg, and Burroughs) and worked to revise the traditional literary norms. There was little overlap between women of the first and second generations of Beat women writers. The second generation includes Joanna McClure, Lenore Kandel, Elise Cowen, Diane di Prima, Hettie Jones, Joanne Kyger, Joyce Johnson, Ann Charters, Brenda Frazer and Helen Weaver.<sup>2</sup> Even though they were often not explicitly feminist, their works helped craft an atmosphere for second-wave feminism to emerge. Beat Generation scholar Ronna Johnson writes: “Second-generation women Beats are proto-feminist writers, artists whose anticipations of sixties feminism clarify the luminal interval in the twentieth century between first- and second-wave women’s movements.” The third generation of women Beats was contemporaneous with the emergence of second-wave feminism. These women were born during World War II, grew up during the fifties, and came of age in the 1960s. It most prominently includes Janine Pommy Vega and Anne Waldman (Johnson, “Mappings” 8, 10, 12-14, 17).

Delineating the differences among these three generations of Beat women writers helps scholars identify the historical stages of the twentieth-

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<sup>2</sup> Johnson does not include Weaver; “Mapping Women Writers of the Beat Generation” was published in 2004 while Weaver’s *The Awakener: A Memoir of Kerouac and the Fifties* was published in 2009.

century women's rights movement. These women were physically linked as a bridge to the 1960s women's movement and second-wave feminism. Beat women, such as Jones, even call themselves the stepping stones for part of this women's movement. Beat women were one cog in the machine to energize second-wave feminism. However, it was not until "the 1983 publication of Joyce Johnson's *Minor Characters*... [that] women associated with the movement became visible" (Grace, "Joyce Johnson" 181). The second generation of women Beats can be divided into two groups: those who were published during the heyday of the Beat Generation and those who wrote after the Beat Generation's mass media popularity had crested. It was the later works such as Johnson's *Minor Characters* (1983), Jones's *How I Became Hettie Jones* (1990), Carolyn Cassady's *Off the Road: My Years with Cassady, Kerouac, and Ginsberg* (1990), and Helen Weaver's *The Awakener: A Memoir of Kerouac and the Fifties* (2009) that firmly placed these women on the map of American literature.

These women set the stage for a new women's liberation even before this history was recorded in print, though. These women's lives *were* texts for others during the 1950s and 1960s to read, study, and interpret. A prominent literary device was their use of orgasm as a symbol to represent women's liberation, a symbol that transcended the Beat Generation and is resonant even today. During the days when women in the United States were supposed to be both homemakers and self-sacrificing moral exemplars, and few strayed from their prescribed norm, these Beat women's lives presented a different image. Their lifestyles included smoking (cigarettes as well as marijuana), drinking alcohol, and having extramarital sex. Furthermore, these women also endured abortions—before they were legal and without proper medical care. Yet they also became mothers and performed domestic duties. They were educated; all had achieved some level of higher college education. They moved out of their parents' homes and got apartments on their own. What can be read in the texts of these women's lives? Other women, who observed them, learned that perhaps there is more to life than being a housewife, the predicament that Betty Friedan spotlighted.

### Women Beats' Agency

As part of Beat culture, these women were subjects with the power to act. Living in an open culture that defied the lifestyle norms of its day enabled these women to also refuse their status quo gender roles. For instance, these women openly explored orgasm's potential by moving out of their parents' homes into their own apartments (without being married) to defy sexual privacy constraints. It is in such examples of freedom and exploration that these women's lives became texts for other women to read. Not only did these



women's lives serve as texts during the Beat Generation, but their lives later became texts when they published their lives' stories. Nearly thirty years elapse (from the 1950s to the 1980s) between when their lives were read as texts and when their memoirs began to be read as texts. For this to have happened, second-wave feminism played a significant role. The very force that Beat women helped create later helped them to have the readership to share their stories; it was a circular circumstance.

In an interview with Nancy Grace, Hettie Jones described her inspiration for a memoir: "After I began teaching, after having run into a lot of young women and realizing that nobody knew this history—nobody knew what the women involved had done—I felt that I had to set the record straight in some way" (Grace "Drive" 159). While women of the women's movement history and the men's stories of the Beat Generation had been recorded and studied, the stories of Beat Generation women had not been written. Joyce Johnson remembers the women's movement's influence in her decision to write because as she realized "that my story was important, and the story of the other women was important" (Grace "Johnson" 188).

### Female Orgasm as a Cultural Construct

These women experienced cultural suppression, which was also manifested in contemporary notions about the female orgasm. Many women dealt with the anxiety of achieving an orgasm. Shere Hite explains in her 1976 sociological study *The Hite Report: A Nationwide Study of Female Sexuality*, that nothing is wrong with these women: "What we thought was an individual problem is neither unusual nor a problem" (232). All women are capable of orgasm, Hite claims, which makes the emotional, as well as the biological, components of sex desirable (222). Many women do not orgasm as a result of heterosexual vaginal intercourse, which Hite defines as "the penis thrusting in the vagina" (229). Rather, it is the stimulation of the clitoris which enables the female orgasm. In the context of vaginal sex, a female orgasm is created by the penis thrusting back and forth, inadvertently and indirectly stimulating the clitoris to the point of orgasm. However, for this to successfully happen, the sexual partners must be aware of how the female orgasm works and how to make it work between them. It is not solely one person's problem.

Hite explains that if a woman does not experience orgasm during intercourse but has been aroused, she too needs to release that tension. Through Hite's interviews with women, she observed that "many women mentioned crying after sex with no orgasm, to let out the feeling of frustration" (203). Thus, the idea of "orgasm" to these women should be expanded to include "emotional orgasm." Hite explains: "Emotional orgasm is a feeling

of love and communion with another human being that reaches a peak....It could be described as a complete release of emotions...or an orgasm of the heart" (201-02). The idea of clitoral stimulation was certainly not the priority the first time Beat Generation members Carolyn and Neal Cassady had sex. Carolyn Cassady writes: "Even after he'd [Neal had] collapsed beside me, I felt chiseled from stone, except for the still-searing pain. My astonished ears heard whispers of glowing profound delight, and then he drifted off to sleep. Numb, I slipped weakly off the bed and sought refuge in the bathroom and bathed my lap with tears" (19). Neal Cassady was renowned as a fantastic lover and sexual partner, but to Carolyn he did not live up to expectations because while he achieved orgasm, Carolyn did not. Neal fell asleep and Carolyn went away to console herself and have her release: in this case, emotional.

Given the complexity of orgasm, both emotional and biological, it is not surprising that these women became frustrated. One of Helen Weaver's focuses in her memoir is her quest to discover the female orgasm: "In those days, all that restless energy reminded me of my own unsuccessful attempts to achieve orgasm, or maybe somebody else's climax that didn't include me" (46). Here, Weaver first asserts that orgasm is something to work for, to desire, to achieve. She includes hypotheses that it could be her own unsuccessful attempts to achieve orgasm (through masturbation) or through "somebody else's climax" that excluded her (for example, oral or vaginal sex). Because Weaver, as well as other Beat women, acknowledged that an orgasm was more than simply a biological occurrence, they placed value in the orgasm. The women desired to achieve orgasm because it held power and symbolized their abilities to become agents of change against perceived gender roles of their time. At any rate, Weaver was not able to achieve orgasm in her marriage. But, it was not completely Weaver's fault she could not achieve orgasm, nor was it her partner's fault.

It is important for all genders to be aware of female sexuality. Even Weaver's experience with women as sexual partners "did not, however, bring [her] any closer to solving the mystery of the orgasm" (23). Interestingly, whereas many during her time called the issue of female orgasm a "problem," Weaver calls it a "mystery." By using this rhetoric to describe her search for the orgasm, she implies its complexity and her desire to solve it for herself. Indeed, with each woman, orgasm and anatomy are different. Hite explains: "The truth is that clitoral and labial anatomy are highly variable in size, shape, placement, texture, and other factors" (299). It is for this reason that one cannot essentialize what a woman's orgasm should be. As the Beat women describe their experiences achieving orgasm, it must be recognized that women come to orgasm in many ways. With many life experiences, these women ascertain that one cannot box up what it means to be a woman, as their society had dictated. Through their lives and texts, they display that "woman" cannot easily be defined, just as their orgasms cannot be easily defined.

## Beat Women's Writings about Sexual Freedom

One of the bold topics a portion of these Beat women—Carolyn Cassady, Joyce Johnson, Hettie Jones, and Helen Weaver—discuss in their memoirs are their expressions of sexuality. They were sexually aware in a way that many women of their time were not, and they were open to reflecting on their sexual experiences. This sexual awareness not only affected their relationships, but also their lives as women in the 1950s and 1960s.

In *Minor Characters*, Joyce Johnson reflects on societal views about sex: “In the 1950s, sex—if you achieved it—was a serious and anxious act... The new self-consciousness about coming or not coming—making it a man’s duty and triumph that *both* should come, and a woman’s shame if she didn’t—brought dread to the question ‘Did you?’” (89). Johnson does not describe sex as pleasurable, but as “serious” and “anxious” as a societal view. Furthermore, she suggests the patriarchal myth that it is a man’s responsibility for both parties coming, or having an orgasm. Through this cultural explanation and the understatement of the dialogical question “Did you?,” Johnson successfully highlights the way that patriarchal assumptions made women’s pleasure secondary to their sexual partners’ sense of accomplishment.

While sexual freedom is desired by these women, they also acknowledge that not all sexual experiences were orgasmic, or even pleasurable. In her memoir, *The Awakener: A Memoir of Kerouac and the Fifties*, Helen Weaver provides a detailed account of Greenwich Village in the 1950s and her interactions with the Beat Generation. While an essential aspect of this memoir is her romantic relationship with Kerouac, she also focuses on her sexual identity. Weaver was married in the 1950s and recalls: “I also remember lying in bed with my husband [not Kerouac] and feeling nothing at all: staring at the ceiling and wondering what was wrong with me. Gradually I lost all desire for sex” (22). She ultimately loses the desire for sex; however, she does not say that she loses desire for orgasm, two separate issues. While the two concepts are often conflated, a successful orgasm is different than merely the sexual act. Furthermore, Weaver desired pleasure through an orgasmic release, whereas perhaps she was expected to simply pleasure her male partner. More importantly, she was wondering “what was wrong” with her, which Hite explained that nothing was wrong with such women.

## Legal and Social Restrictions of Sexual Freedom

Joyce Johnson took charge of her sexual freedom in the regard to location and frequency by moving into her own apartment; however, she did not take charge of it concerning contraceptive practices. Johnson reflects: “I

can never quite bring myself to go to Sheila's [her friend's] clinic. It's odd what you have courage for and what you don't" (*Minor* 93). In the 1950s, obtaining contraceptives was much more difficult than it currently is, especially for unwed women. Social and legal restrictions prevented women from living as openly with sex as men, creating a dangerous inequality. It also made women more likely to be dependent on men to obtain contraception. This inequality became evident as the Beat women devised ways to get contraception and defy the patriarchal hierarchy concerning the health of their bodies.

Many of the women Johnson knew had to buy fake wedding rings and make up last names that would make them appear "married," so that they could obtain contraception at Margaret Sanger clinics. Hettie Jones recounts her quest for getting contraceptive materials: "wearing a Woolworth rhinestone wedding ring, I went sensibly to the Margaret Sanger clinic for a diaphragm. They made you insert the slippery, unfamiliar thing yourself, after one demonstration, from a recumbent position, with only a mirror at the far end of the table for a guide" (53). However, the methods of contraception at this time were also not as fool-proof as currently (not that current contraception is 100% procreation proof). Broken condoms and diaphragms became frustrating parts of the process. And, of course, during most of the Beat Generation time period, the more reliable birth control pill had not made its way onto the market. Even Carolyn Cassady used birth control to the point she got an infection from her diaphragm from leaving it in too long: "I was very bitter, and I ranted on about society and its laws, the Catholic Church and the peddlers of contraceptives that didn't work, and the doctors who guarantee they will" (139).

Due to a lack of availability of contraception, Joyce Johnson had an abortion and unabashedly writes about it in *Minor Characters*. She had become pregnant by a random man at a college party who had forgotten to pull out his penis before ejaculating his semen into her vagina. Both parties were responsible; however, she had to find a doctor who would perform an illegal abortion. Following the abortion, Johnson explains: "I staggered down the cement steps of his house with my life" (110-11). The abortion seems to have little effect on her. She goes out the door and on with life. The fact that she continues on into her life illustrates that she is an agent of decision-making capabilities. While the legal infrastructure prevented women from easily obtaining contraception and making decisions, these women became agents of their own change. It was with the release of an orgasm and sexual experience that these women transformed "orgasm" into a symbol for personal autonomy, as they took matters into their own hands.

Prior to going to the clinic for birth control, Jones had an abortion when abortions were "unthinkable." But, unlike the present day, abortions were illegal at *all* stages of pregnancy. The day of back-alley abortions and

the dangers associated with them existed during these Beat Generation women's time. Jones went into the doctor's office alone without her black husband, LeRoi, as "miscegenation" was possibly less socially acceptable than extramarital sex. After the abortion, Jones explains the crude attitudes of her suspicious society: "I was waiting at the side of the road [near the abortion clinic] for the bus to New York when a car came along and slowed as it passed, and a man shouted, 'Oh, you must have been a *bad* girl!'" (52). The very society which made it so difficult for Jones to get proper contraceptives in the first place also made her feel as if she had very little choice in the direction of her life. Despite this obstacle, Jones and others pushed past criticism to ascertain what they wanted from life and prove they could choose their lives' courses.

Yet while most of these women—Weaver excluded—at least considered the idea of abortion, each of the women had at least one child. In *The Hite Report*, several women compared having an orgasm to giving birth. Sometimes the emotional orgasm is viewed as the need to conceive and remain "one." Furthermore, there are physiological similarities between orgasm and childbirth, such as emotional intensity and the physical sensation of expulsion, as well as the mode of breathing (Hite 202). Most of these Beat women experienced this birthing orgasm and they wrote about their children. As Jones became a mother, she reflected part of the stereotypical 1950s woman ideal: a woman fulfills her destiny when she becomes a mother. But, she was a white woman having a black man's child. In 1950, thirty states had laws regulating miscegenation (Jones 36). Furthermore, like all the other women Beats discussed here, she worked at a printing press. She had a professional and personal life, so the decision to have this child was significant. As she births a little girl, Kellie, Jones comments on how Kellie's upbringing as a female would be different than her own: "Maybe it was because she didn't resemble me that I marveled at how *like* me she was, how female and how conscious in that little body. The way I'd been in mine and never told" (106). Jones acknowledges that she contains the force to change society for future generations of women, including her daughter. Jones posits that women being aware of who they are (including their own bodies and orgasms) is essential for being conscious of one's femininity, something she and others in her time were not explicitly told. Therefore, even the birthing orgasm aids in female identity formation.

## Identity Formation through Orgasm

Beat Generation scholar Amy Friedman suggests these Beat women writers furthered the Beat Generation culture and have inspired other women by promoting individual expression. One way they promote individual

expression is by writing about identity formation. Friedman states: “The trope of individual self-discovery links the writing of many Beat women, who have mapped individual artistic growth in their works of poetry, prose and memoir” (233). I would add to Friedman’s argument that a primary method for these women’s self-discovery was through experiencing orgasm. Hite writes that “the ability to orgasm when we want” is symbolic for women as it represents “[the ability] to be in charge of our own bodies, [to be] strong, free, and autonomous beings” (312). It is through orgasm (brought on by clitoral stimulation) that women gain this strength. By opening up and describing several types of orgasms they experienced and how these affected them, these Beat women use orgasm as a symbol. Orgasm is thus a literary and life symbol for female liberation, which was brought to life in the 1960s women’s movement.

In her memoir, *The Awakener: A Memoir of Kerouac and the Fifties*, Helen Weaver writes about identity. A pivotal point in her memoir arrives in Chapter 5 “Changes.” Weaver’s change comes as the result of her sexual liberation and expression through her successful orgasm, years after becoming sexually active. Just because she engaged in sexual activity during marriage did not mean she had experienced an orgasm. Weaver comments: “I always remember August 5 because that was the day it finally happened: at age thirty-four, in the middle of the sixties, I had my own personal sexual revolution” (154). Weaver was encouraged to explore her sexual yearnings from several key people in her life. Her psychologist, Dr. Goo Goo, informed her that she was entitled to express herself as a sexual being. Her boyfriend, Isaac (who came after Kerouac), was patient and understanding. Then her neighbor, Stefani, unknowingly encouraged Weaver to find her sexual voice; Weaver describes overhearing and later imitating her neighbor Stefanie’s sexually orgasmic utterances. Weaver now recognizes that, “everything conspired to help me break through several generations of repression” (154).

While an orgasm is a biological function, it is more than physical action. Weaver states she had to “break through” long-established repression. She did not have awakenings simply through sex in the past, but did have an awakening with experiencing orgasm and finding her sexual voice. With her choice of diction in the phrase “break through,” she implies that the process is more than a physical obstacle—it is a mental and emotional hurdle. In their 2009 article entitled “Social Representations of Female Orgasm,” Maya Lavie-Ajayi and Hélène Joffe study how women evaluate their sexuality. They concede that by having an orgasm, a woman is demonstrating her pleasure and liberation (101). They include a 1997 *Cosmopolitan* magazine excerpt showing the value of female orgasms because they are an “expression of mind, body, heart, soul and spirit” and are a “celebration of self” (101). Through orgasm, women celebrate their femininity and gain insight as to who they

are, finding liberation through sexual expression. Weaver recognizes the symbolic importance of orgasm in the text of her life and textualizes it in her memoir.

As Weaver describes her break-through with orgasm after years of sexual activity, Lavie-Ajayi and Joffe's scientific study reaffirms that most women do not experience an orgasm in every sexual experience (102). Thus, reaching a state of orgasmic ecstasy was more than mere biological happenstance for Weaver; it was essential to finding her identity. A woman's ability to express herself through orgasm is "linked to a positive sense of herself as a woman" (104). Finding herself through orgasm, a woman can then link the biological process of orgasm to psychological and emotional effects. Helen Weaver has a personal awakening (a break in consciousness) due to her sexual expression:

It was around the time I became orgasmic that I became a believer. It was a grand opening on every level: spiritual, intellectual, and emotional as well as physical. I found I had faith—not in God, necessarily, but in the power of faith itself. I felt as if I had somehow broken free from the limits of the rational materialist world view. I let go of some of my need to control. I no longer needed to grab and grasp at whatever I thought I wanted. Orgasmic...I found that I could simply be still and let things come to me. For the first time in my life, I felt magnetic. (155)

Weaver directly correlates her orgasmic experience with an overall awakening of identity. She found her voice spiritually, intellectually, emotionally, and physically after finding her voice sexually. These complex, energy-wrenching insights that people reach through study, meditation, and reflection, Weaver discovered through sexual expression and release. With the release of her sexual frustration came the release of the world's stresses upon her; with the flood of orgasmic relief came the relief of identity formation. A mental response echoed her bodily experience. Weaver empowered herself not only by identity formation, but also through feeling actual power. Through using metaphor, she relates this powerful awakening's strength to a magnet's, pulling things towards her. Weaver is taking advantage of the world around her "for the first time" in her life (155).

### Beat Women Writing's Significance

By primarily writing about their lives through memoir, these women are creating not only significant works of literature, but significant revisionary works. Ronna Johnson explains these women's threefold significance in her

article “Mapping Women Beat Writers.” Johnson explains they have become agents of change as they write themselves into Beat and postwar literary history. Second, they are revealing a larger body of Beat literary work. And, third, these women are deconstructing what it means to be “Beat” as a writer and in culture. Furthermore, Johnson hints at a fourth major significant effect in her introduction and unravels it throughout the article: the women’s role in second-wave feminism (4).

Hettie Jones realized many young women taking an active role in second-wave feminism did not realize that there were precursors to this movement. She said that some people had an idea that the women Beats were influential, but no one really gave them credit for their considerable accomplishments. Jones states: “They [women’s movement participants] were getting their own apartments and taking off their bras without realizing that there were women who left home as we did and suffered for it” (Grace, “Drive” 159). Ronna Johnson is also quick to assert: “The sexual revolution could not have been demanded and achieved without the attainment of the sexual frontier conquered by experimental Beat bohemian women” (“Mapping” 14). Becoming the subjects of historically significant texts instead of the objects, they are subversive, subaltern writers. Commenting on how he sees this in *How I Became Hettie Jones*, Barrett Watten commends “the way that Jones takes as given an alienated experience—of herself not only as typesetter but as wife and lover—as material for transformative agency” (Watten 115). Through becoming such agents and using the symbol of orgasm as literary and life symbol, these women create change.

## Coming a Long Way

From their beginnings of living in cold war America where conformity dictated social norms and living in a counterculture movement which was still, in many ways, patriarchal, Beat Generation women *came* a long way. The women who wrote memoirs after the Beat Generation’s heyday (Jones, Johnson, Cassady, and Weaver) made great strides, writing themselves into history as they created their identities through life writing. They are changing what Beat literature and culture are. While they were inspired by second-wave feminism to write their stories, they also helped create the women’s movement in the 1960s.

Specifically, their lives were texts and their experiences of orgasm symbolized the ideal of sexual expression’s freedom for women. Years later, this living symbol became a literary symbol as they described orgasmic experiences in their memoirs. Because of their creation of this symbol, society has come a long way from the contained 1950s. The power of these women’s orgasms is still making the earth move today.



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## The Inner Light: A Comparison of George Fox's and Margaret Fell's Views on Women's Equality

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*Hillary Leonard*

### Historical Setting

It was in the context of tremendous political and social upheaval that George Fox's experience of Inner Light prompted him to begin the religious movement that developed into the Society of Friends. The Society of Friends followed in the wake of English Civil War prophets and visionaries, most of whom were associated with the Baptists or groups such as the Ranters, Levelers, and Fifth Monarchists.<sup>1</sup> One of these prominent female prophets that preceded George Fox's Society of Friends was a member of the Fifth Monarchists named Mary Cary. Cary used apocalyptic biblical language to harangue England's political leaders with the hope that they would stop oppressing the poor and mistreating the saints. Even in a state of upturned societal structure, it is unusual that a woman would have spoken out with a voice of judgment that hearkens back to the Old Testament Prophets. According to the Georgia Harkness Professor of Theology at Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary, Rosemary Radford Ruether, "Cary and other female prophets do not make a special case for women's right to preach and prophesy. Rather, they declare that the Holy Spirit is no respecter of persons."<sup>2</sup>

The emphasis here for Cary and the female prophetic voices of her time falls on the power of the Holy Spirit. Cary stresses her own weakness while at the same time highlighting the ability of the Lord to use prophecy to transcend "all human offices or credentials . . . giving women of the meanest class supreme confidence to speak out against the highest leaders in the land."<sup>3</sup> Annulments of social hierarchy through refocus on the Holy Spirit and critique of the patriarchal marriage of church and state were already under direct attack with a strong ring of apocalyptic judgment. The apocalyptic fervor seizing Cary and her contemporaries did not lead to a change in

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<sup>1</sup> Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Women and Redemption: A Theological History* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress Publishers, 1998), 136.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

the understanding of social constructs but in a complete transcendence of the established order. This divorce from the worldly concern for equality likely came from disgust with the political system and corresponding social constructs as entirely evil. Thus rather than validating their messages by establishing their rights to speak, they bypassed the system by claiming direct revelatory information from the Holy Spirit.

Even though Cary and her apocalyptically concerned contemporaries enabled female prophetic voices to speak out, these women only spoke by passively transmitting the authoritative words of the Holy Spirit. Both Cary's concern for preventing oppression and her boldness in attacking the legitimacy of England's political leaders were motivated by confidence found in re-identification as a non-gendered vessel that communicated the Holy Spirit's messages. Despite the historically revolutionary nature of these preceding female prophetic voices, empowerment that comes only through the transcendence of an established social order does not reflect a position of ontological equality. It is at this point of ontological equality that Quakers are truly groundbreaking both in belief and practice. Both George Fox and Margaret Fell took the work of those preceding them and built upon it in a way that arguably provided ontological equality in gendered states. This gendered equality goes beyond mere transcendence of established systems and yearns for the active redemption and empowerment of all people through the shared seed of God. It is precisely this radical understanding of full equality that this paper explores.

## Goal and Methodology

Already immersed in the historical context that Quakerism emerged from, this paper seeks to examine the development of women's authority in the Society of Friends through the lives of Quaker founder, George Fox, and prominent early member, Margaret Fell. To lay the groundwork for this investigation, this paper will give a brief overview of George Fox's divine inspiration and the revelations that led to his emphasis upon Inner Light that is responsible for Quakerism's movement away from prior Puritanism. The Inner Light will be investigated to gain a working definition of its mysterious power and see how its movement prompted the creation of a new religious movement. Once this groundwork is in place, George Fox's continued influence in Quaker development will be considered. Next, Margaret Fell, often considered to be the mother of Quakerism, will be examined. In particular, Fell's hermeneutic of equality and establishment of separate women's meetings will be explicated. Following the investigation of these two key figures, an evaluation of their claims of equality and actions supporting these claims will be compared. As a result, this study will gain an

understanding of authority in the dual realms of spirit and physical being for early Quakerism's most prominent male and female figures.

### Founder of the Society of Friends: George Fox

George Fox was born in Fenny Drayton in Leicestershire, England in 1626 to a deeply pious father and an upright mother who came from the line of English Protestant martyrs.<sup>4</sup> While not a member of the Fifth Monarchists like Cary, the young founder of the Society of Friends, George Fox, was also struck with a sense of dissatisfaction with the way that people carried out their lives. In his text, *George Fox and the Quakers*, historian Henry Van Etten records that one day Fox's cousin and a friend invited him to a tavern for a drink. They challenged him to drink to excess with the result that whoever gave up first had to pay the tab.<sup>5</sup> George was shocked that his cousin could profess to share his same religious sentiments yet be a gluttonous drunk. Being particularly sensitive to hypocrisy, George stood up, drank his one drink, and left. Van Etten says, "He was extremely grieved to see this inconsistency in the Puritans."<sup>6</sup>

As a result of this drinking challenge, Fox was unsettled when he arrived at home and could not sleep.<sup>7</sup> While pacing around, he had a revelation in which "he saw that he had embarked on a special path through life."<sup>8</sup> Soon after, he left home in search of meaning and traveled seeking religious identity. He talked with many men of the Church, yet did not find answers. Finally, about three years after leaving home, Fox had a series of revelations. In the first he realized that "making a profession of faith was not enough to make one a son of God."<sup>9</sup> In the second, he realized that "being bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to fit and qualify men to be ministers of Christ."<sup>10</sup> It was in these revelations that the very heart

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<sup>4</sup> Michael Mullett, "George Fox and the origins of Quakerism," *History Today* 41, no. 5 (May 1991): 26-31. *Academic Search Premier*, EBSCOhost (accessed November 7, 2011), 26.

<sup>5</sup> Henry Van Etten, *Men of Wisdom: George Fox and the Quakers*, trans. K. Kelvin Osborn (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1959), 16.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Fox was extremely concerned with living a life that reflected the tenets of his faith. Growing up in a strongly Puritan house with morally stringent parents certainly must have influenced this concern. The upsetting of his moral compass here seems to have triggered an identity crisis. Because the mind of Fox's time was chiefly theological, it is not surprising that in the hope of "finding himself" he sought identity primarily in religion instead of occupation.

<sup>8</sup> H. Larry Ingle, *First Among Friends: George Fox and the Creation of Quakerism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 25.

<sup>9</sup> Van Etten, 22.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

of Quakerism is found.<sup>11</sup> These revelations were not seen with the help of another individual. They were personal discoveries through the working of “the inner light of the Lord Jesus Christ and by his immediate Scripture and power.”<sup>12</sup> The immediacy of this revelation speaks to the continuing work of the Holy Spirit in speaking with authority at the present time. Rather than emphasizing traditions and rigid doctrines, the early Quakers embraced the continuing revelation of truth that moved in unity among Friends through the prompting of the Holy Spirit.

## The Inner Light

It is precisely this inner light that is so important for identification as Quakers. It is not the hierarchy of Church authority that determines the spiritual life of a believer through orthodoxy, but it is the power of the inner light of the Holy Spirit working in each person regardless of sex or social class. This Inner Light<sup>13</sup> that works in individual Friends is a manifestation of the same spirit in each person. In the words of historian Rebecca Larson, “Quaker belief in the shared aspect of God contained within each human stressed the unity of the genders.”<sup>14</sup> Because the light of the Holy Spirit manifested itself without restricting its presence to an elect few, there was a foundational ground of equality in spiritual experience. Ruether indicates that this Society of Friends, or Quakers as they were often known due to their habit of shaking while experiencing the Spirit, was heir to the previously mentioned millenarian prophecy of the English Civil War.<sup>15</sup>

This inherited radicalism united “radical witness in society with disciplined familial community.”<sup>16</sup> Since religion was a primary tool for shaping community and personal identity at the time, the sharp contrast between the Inner Light’s non-discriminatory enlightening and the rigid English social construct was particularly powerful. The working of a non-discerning spirituality operating outside the bounds of society’s ordering may seem commonplace in today’s society, but in 17th century England, it was

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<sup>11</sup> It is important to note that despite the androcentric language used to relate Fox’s revelation, scholarship indicates that he was in full support of women’s equality. This language choice is unfortunate in conveying Fox’s full meaning, but it is a natural byproduct of his historical period. In light of this context, the reader must be careful not to project any other meanings given the reader’s post-modern vantage point.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> References made to the Inner Light will be capitalized from this point on. The reason behind this is that for Quakers, the Inner Light equated to the Holy Spirit.

<sup>14</sup> Rebecca Larson, *Daughters of Light: Quaker Women Preaching and Prophesying in the Colonies and Abroad 1700-1775* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 20.

<sup>15</sup> Ruether, 136

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

utterly revolutionary. Historian Bonnelyne Young Kunze provides the reader with a historical perspective by writing, "The structure of English society was that of hierarchical rank, according to wealth, land, and living standards, to the extent that the mental predisposition toward social stratification was not only automatic, it seemed natural."<sup>17</sup> The ingrained awareness of the great chain of being, with normative social stations and lack of class mobility created an atmosphere of acceptance.

The seeming subtlety of accepted inequalities in the social order tended to keep women in particular in oppression. Susan Mosher Stuard, who received her doctorate from Yale University in the area of Medieval economic and social history, elaborates on the condition of society's assumption of women's ontological inferiority by writing, "Since polar notions of women were mental constructs rather than rigorously argued ideas, they were rarely examined and evaluated, and therefore they were very difficult to dislodge."<sup>18</sup> What Stuard is proposing is that despite some of the prominent arguments leveled against women such as their susceptibility to the wiles of the devil and responsibility for the fall of humanity through Eve's sin, most opposition was held at the level of conditioning and societal reinforcement, thus the notions of inequality were accepted at the most basic truth level.

The transcendence and primacy of the prompting of the Inner Spirit seemed to rail against God in the eyes of the established authorities. Given the fall from grace experienced by Quakers after Oliver Cromwell's death and the reinstatement of the monarchy in the person of Charles II, Quakerism's depart from the customs of the land had double impact. Religious dissent necessarily meant political dissent as well. Since the monarchy was understood as divinely ordered by God through a process of reasoning that was corrupt to Quakers, all forms of earthly authority were questioned in a similar manner to that of the early Church. The late William Braithwaite, in his extensive text entitled *The Second Period of Quakerism*, makes the connection that "Both early Christian and Quaker seemed seditious to the world because their first allegiance was given to an inward Sovereign whom the world did not know."<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Bonnelyn Young Kunze, "Religious authority and social status in seventeenth-century England: the friendship of Margaret Fell, George Fox and William Penn," *Church History* 57, no. 2 (June 1, 1988): 170-186, *ATLA Religion Database with ATLASerials*, EBSCOhost (accessed November 6, 2011). This excerpt grounds Stuard's definition of polar that connotes "total difference" with regard to men. Though possessing biological similarities in physical make up, the actualizing force of personhood differed at the mind/soul level.

<sup>18</sup> Susan Mosher Stuard, "Women's Witnessing: A New Departure," in *Witnesses for Change: Quaker Women over Three Centuries*, eds. Elisabeth Potts Brown and Susan Mosher Stuard (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1989), 11.

<sup>19</sup> William C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), 16.

Following the Inner Sovereign was a significant decision. Intense persecution lay in store for many Friends<sup>20</sup> moved by the Light to witness in society and participate in later social reforms. In addition to regular abuse and imprisonment for their beliefs, special punishments lay in store for women who prophesied. One of these punishments was an iron cage that fit around the head, called a brank or scold's bridle, which had a metal piece that was inserted into the mouth to humiliate women and keep them from speaking. The scold's bridle was frequently placed on Quaker women who prophesied in public. Sometimes in conjunction with the scold's bridle, women guilty of prophesying in public would be placed in the stocks where they were open to public humiliation and could be pelted with rotten vegetables.<sup>21</sup> Fortunately for all those who followed in the revelation of Inner Light, Fox was a rebel who was "unwilling to submit to authority, unless it be the ineffable and elusive authority of God."<sup>22</sup> If Fox had not been so committed to this elusive authority, the fruits of Quakerism likely would not have been enjoyed in the future, for the land that the seed of Quakerism fell upon was hostile indeed.

### Further Development of Fox

Although Fox faced many troubles because of his beliefs and the actions stemming from these beliefs, he never wavered from his revelation. Michael Mullet's article in *History Today* records that Fox was imprisoned eight times up to the 1670s and was frequently beaten.<sup>23</sup> The longest of his imprisonments was two years and eight months for refusal to take the oath of Supremacy and Allegiance.<sup>24</sup> Apart from his obvious dissent from religious and political norms, Fox also differed from accepted gender and class differences. During his travels as a young man before his revelation, he encountered a group of people who held that "women have no souls, no more than a goose."<sup>25</sup> Braithwaite records that Fox was shocked to hear such ignorant speech and aptly reproved them with the case of Mary by "quoting the opening words of the Magnificat, 'My soul doth magnify the Lord.'"<sup>26</sup> The soul is of key importance for Fox's concept of equality. Beyond the

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<sup>20</sup> As members of the Society of Friends, the term for individual Quakers was "friend." This relational term emphasized the shared life that they experienced through the work of the Spirit. It also testifies to their efforts of breaking down walls between social classes and genders.

<sup>21</sup> William Armstrong, "George Fox and the Quakers", VHS, prod. Sleeping Giant Productions and Lightworks Producing Group (Worcester, PA: Vision Video, 2002).

<sup>22</sup> Ingle, 8.

<sup>23</sup> Mullet, 26.

<sup>24</sup> D. Elton Trueblood, *The People Called Quakers: The Enduring Influence of a Way of Life and a Way of Thought* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), 24

<sup>25</sup> Braithwaite, 270.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

obvious rebuttal that the opening of the Magnificat states that Mary had a soul, there is also an implicit message of giving glory to God. In this message of glorification of God, it implies that Mary had a capacity to recognize the qualities of God that merit praise. Those who held that women had no souls would certainly not have admitted that a soul-less being would praise God, because the soul is where recognition of God's praiseworthiness occurs.

While this implicit message Fox imparts to those holding that women have no souls may seem convoluted, it contains the basic connection of one of Fox's most important beliefs. In departing from the doctrine of predestination and emphasizing the ability of each person to be moved by the Inner Light, Fox developed a belief that within each individual there is a "seed" of God.<sup>27</sup> This seed is present in all people, whether "believer, pagan, or atheist . . . [t]he seed was in all with its latent possibilities."<sup>28</sup> This belief with its mystical connotation meant that Fox saw possibilities for "pagans" to participate in the Inner Light as well. In this belief he went against the then common belief that "pagans" were condemned to eternal damnation.<sup>29</sup> It did not matter if the "pagan" was unaware that the spirit was Christ, in awareness of the Inner Light, she participated in truth. Because this "seed" was present in all people regardless of sex, ethnicity, or even present religious adherence, there was a common unity among all people. That unity was the inherent potential for receiving revelation from the Inner Light.

Following from this unifying force of God's potential in each individual, Fox placed importance on righting social injustice. He was concerned with the treatment of slaves in Barbados. He demanded kind treatment for the slaves and emancipation after a certain number of years of service. He charged the slaveholders to treat the slaves well because at the Day of Judgment they would be held to an account of their actions toward the slaves.<sup>30</sup> This charge was a sharp deviation from common thoughts as to the nature of non-Caucasian people. German scholar Auguste Jorns explicates this deviation by writing, "until now the logical inference had not been drawn from their faith in all mankind, that even under a colored skin there was born a soul with an eternal destiny."<sup>31</sup> Later Quakers built upon Fox's concern with slavery and became pivotal figures in the abolition movement.

Because Fox concentrates so much on the Inner Light while rejecting forms of structure, some scholars see signs of mysticism in him. The late scholar Josiah Royce saw in Fox's "coming to know the Light as a sustained

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<sup>27</sup> Van Etten, 25.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 23.

<sup>30</sup> Auguste Jorns, *The Quakers as Pioneers in Social Work*, trans. Thomas Kite Brown Jr. (Montclair, NJ: Patterson Smith, 1969), 199.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.



experience”<sup>32</sup> and relying upon this direct intuition of truth at the moment of contemplation despite his untutored background in theology<sup>33</sup> as signs that Fox was strongly influenced by mysticism. Add Fox’s proclivity to wandering in nature waiting for the working of the Spirit while in periods of spiritual turmoil and reception of his revelation while at the top of large hill and he does seem to exhibit signs of mysticism.

### Fox’s View of Women Prophesying

After the death of Margaret Fell’s first husband, Judge Fell, George Fox eventually married Margaret Fell. Fox and Fell were united in 1669, eleven years after the death of Judge Thomas Fell.<sup>34</sup> Fox showed tremendous concern for her original family in not exerting patriarchal authority over their lives too. In fact, he met with Fell’s children to make sure that they did not think the marriage was being conducted for financial benefit and that they had no other objections to them being united.<sup>35</sup> Her influence will become apparent in this paper’s investigation of her life, but for now it is important to note that Fox and Fell’s marriage with mutual help and equality is important to understanding both figures’ views on women prophesying.

From the very beginning following from his understanding of the “seed” of God present with every person, Fox had strong thoughts about the equality of women. These notions of equality were mostly rooted to the practical concern of early Quaker practice: Prophecy. Fox’s very first convert, Elizabeth Hooten, was a very active missionary after her conversion and actively spoke in multiple settings, so from the very beginning, Fox was influential in encouraging women’s speaking. Author of numerous works on Quaker history, Margaret Hope Bacon, records the following occurrence, “In 1664, Fox attended a meeting in a ‘steeplehouse’ of Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and Anglicans, at which a woman asked a question and the priest replied that he did not permit women to speak in the church.”<sup>36</sup> Fox responded, arguing that, “a church was a ‘spiritual household’ . . . and that in the true church, of which Christ was the head, a woman might prophesy and speak.”<sup>37</sup> Fox’s response to the silencing minister is meant to emphasize the spiritual headship of the church. Though taken from a verse usually used to silence women, Fox’s intent is that the church they are in is corrupt.

<sup>32</sup> Josiah Royce, “George Fox as a mystic,” *Harvard Theological Review* 6, no. 1 (January 1, 1913): 31-59. *ATLA Religion Database with ATLASerials, EBSCOhost* (accessed November 7, 2011), 58.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 57-59.

<sup>34</sup> Margaret Hope Bacon, *Mothers of Feminism: The Story of Quaker Women in America* (San Francisco, Harper and Row, 1986), 16.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

Rather than recognizing the Spirit in all people, the minister is creating a false hierarchy and looking at things in a boxed in manner similar to the church he is in.<sup>38</sup>

As the Quaker movement grew, more and more women began to travel and prophesy both in and outside of the church. As a result, Fox was constantly called to defend women's speaking. He wrote a controversial tract entitled *The Woman Learning in Silence* to defend his view of women's equality. Despite its seemingly contradictory title, the tract is a defense of women's speaking equality through the outpouring of the spirit. Fox argued that in the original created state, men and women were created equal and had each other for helpmeets but after Adam's transgression and the subsequent fall, men exercised corrupt dominion over women. However, through Christ, both men and women were restored to their original state and were equals. As Rebecca Larson puts it, Eve's curse could be overcome by women who experienced the presence of the light within.<sup>39</sup> Thus the injunction not to speak did not apply to those who were in Christ.<sup>40</sup> Because most of these injunctions followed from the writings of the apostle Paul, it became necessary for Fox to develop a position on these seemingly inhibiting passages. To combat this, he contended that they were the products of a unique historical context aimed at women who were speaking without the enlightening Spirit. Additionally, he pointed out that many women had served as prophets or were influential in Jesus' ministry.<sup>41</sup>

While all of this seems to indicate that Fox was entirely for equality, a subtle undertone of reliance on the working of the Spirit as the only leveling factor remains. Once when Puritans reminded Fox of Paul's injunctions against women speaking in church, Fox replied by saying, "Paul did not forbid God to speak through a woman."<sup>42</sup> While at first this seems to support the equality of women, one wonders if Fox is unable to escape the ingrained notions of women's functional inequalities. It seems that possibly Fox makes a strong case for women in the Spirit, but unless speaking while moved by the Spirit, they are different from men in terms of authority.

## Margaret Fell

Margaret Fell, who came from a prominent Puritan background before her conversion, later became a powerful force both for Quakers as a whole and women. At the time of her conversion, she was married to a prominent

<sup>38</sup> This is consistent with Fox's distaste for traditional church buildings or "steeplehouses" that he saw as centers of hypocrisy.

<sup>39</sup> Larson, 21.

<sup>40</sup> Bacon, 11.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 11-12.

<sup>42</sup> Hugh Barbour and J. William Frost, *The Quakers*, (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), 43.

judge, Thomas Fell, and took residence at the now famous Swarthmore Hall. Having heard that Judge Fell tended to be politically liberal, Fox went to meet Judge Fell at Swarthmore Hall so that he might be able to procure sympathy and support for his cause in a politically advantageous figure. He quickly converted most of the household to Quakerism. According to the late D. Elton Trueblood, a lifelong Quaker and past Professor of Philosophy at Earlham College, "Though Judge Fell never became a Quaker, his wife Margaret did and was, indeed, the most influential woman of the new movement."<sup>43</sup> Swarthmore Hall became the base for Quaker operations and due to Judge Fell's influence, guests of the Fells at Swarthmore Hall were generally safe from severe persecution and imprisonment.<sup>44</sup>

Often referred to as the "Mother of Quakerism," Fell is a particularly dynamic figure.<sup>45</sup> She was outspoken and labored without ceasing to promote the spread of Quakerism. Particularly after her marriage to Fox in 1669, she was in a position of major influence for the cause that was only aided by her pre-existing wealth. She believed in the equality of sexes and wrote extensively to champion the cause of justifying women's speaking. Fell was the driving force behind the change of ingrained societal attitudes of women's inferiority. Historian Susan Young shows just how busy Fell was by writing, "She preached, wrote treatises, polemics, formal epistles, and private letters, petitioned kings, organized the itineraries of missionaries, and acted as a clearing-house for Quaker correspondence."<sup>46</sup> She was by no means an idle, weak, submissive woman.

After her husband Judge Fell's death, she gained a helpmeet<sup>47</sup> in the Quaker cause by marrying George Fox. This joining of dynamic figures created an environment perfect for religious and societal influence. For Fell, who was almost always around or working with Quaker ministers, much of this influence came in justifying her sex's ontological equality with men. As

<sup>43</sup> Trueblood, 23.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Margaret Olofson Thickstun, "Writing the Spirit: Margaret Fell's Feminist Critique of Pauline Theology," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 63, no. 2 (June 1, 1995): 269-279, *ATLA Religion Database with ATLASerials, EBSCOhost* (accessed September 15, 2011), 269. For the sake of clarity, Margaret Fell, due to her more pronounced influence in Quaker development, will be referred to as simply "Fell" and her husband will be referred to as "Judge Fell."

<sup>46</sup> Susan M. Young, "A tale of three women: a conversation with Anne Conway and Margaret Fell Fox," *Religious Studies And Theology* 26, no. 1 (January 1, 2007): 45-58, *ATLA Religion Database with ATLASerials, EBSCOhost* (accessed November 6, 2011), 46.

<sup>47</sup> Because more traditional lines of understanding regarding the function of subservient action in marriage are directed toward woman being created for man, it seems appropriate here to note the unconventional mutual submission observed by both Fell and Fox in their marriage. It goes along well with the intentional reversal of gender claims exercised by some members of Quakerism such as men referring to themselves as sisters in the faith.

Helen Plant points out in her article about women, Quaker ministers and spiritual authority in England, “Ministers were Friends in whom the power of the Spirit had overcome the power of nature and one aspect of that conquered nature was gender.”<sup>48</sup> Plant’s description of ministers gives the distinct idea that yes, there was apparent equality in the fact that the Spirit is the leveling force, but this prompts the question: Is this leveling action of the Spirit that conquers gender true equality? Or is there hope that in the original order of creation, gender distinctions did not need to be overcome because at their most basic level, people were equal both in Spirit and in being? As will be disclosed, the former notion of equality was not enough for Fell.

### Fell’s Hermeneutic of Equality

Margaret Thickstun, who holds the Elizabeth J. McCormack Professorship in English Literature at Hamilton College, sheds some additional light on Fell’s effort of equality by writing, “But while Fell shares the concern of her spiritual partner George Fox that restricting inspired speaking circumscribes the Spirit, her argument in favor of women’s prophecy assumes women’s equality both in the Spirit and in the order of creation.”<sup>49</sup> For Fell, being a vessel that the Spirit uses for authoritative purposes in a transcendence of gender is simply not good enough. According to Thickstun, “To support her claims Fell develops a hermeneutic practice that reclaims Christian discipleship and religious authority for women.”<sup>50</sup>

Following is an excerpt from Fell’s writing entitled *Women’s Speaking*:

Thus much may prove, that the Church of Christ is represented as a Woman; and those that speak against this Woman’s speaking, speak against the Church of Christ, and the Seed of the Woman, which Seed is Christ; that is to say, Those that speak against the Power of the Lord, and the Spirit of the Lord speaking in a Woman, simply by reason of her Sex, or because she is a Woman, not regarding the Seed, and Spirit, and Power that speaks in her; such speak against Christ and his Church, and are of the Seed of the Serpent, wherein lodgeth Enmity. And as God the Father made no such difference in the first Creation, nor ever since between the Male and the Female, but always out of his Mercy and Loving-kindness, had regard unto the Weak.<sup>51</sup>

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48 Helen Plant, “‘Subjective Testimonies’: Women Quaker Ministers and Spiritual Authority in England: 1750–1825,” *Gender & History* 15, no. 2 (August 2003): 296–318, *Academic Search Premier*, EBSCOhost (accessed October 17, 2011), 299.

49 Thickstun, 269.

50 Ibid.

51 Margaret Fell, *Women’s Speaking*. Ed. Licia Kuenning. Quaker Heritage Press. Web. Accessed November 6, 2011.

This defense supports the authority of women's speaking from the very order of creation and places those opposing women's equality in association with the serpent, or devil. Fell and Fox both saw the subjugation of women as a sinful byproduct of the fall that was manifested in oppressive authority.<sup>52</sup> In regard to the attack of Eve as the guilty member in bringing about the fall, author Susan M. Young points out that, "Unlike Adam, Eve openly confessed her sin to God. Through this admission of guilt, Fell-Fox argued that it was Eve, not Adam, who exhibited the potential for the redemption of both herself and humankind."<sup>53</sup>

Fell additionally was active in trying to understand the controversial messages put forth by the apostle Paul to women in Scripture. Thickstun suggests that in fact, "Margaret Fell interprets scripture as an empowering feminist force."<sup>54</sup> Rather than refer to the Bible as an archetype, Fell seems to have viewed scripture as a historical prototype that participated in ongoing revelation for a given community.<sup>55</sup> The passage in question, 1 Corinthians 14:34-35, is of immediate concern for Fell. Her understanding of the issue is that it is a particular episode in church history where a group of women were out of hand and should be understood as Paul's faith response to a concrete, historical situation.<sup>56</sup> In her own response, Fell applies her "hermeneutic principle that speaking the gospel takes precedence over social propriety,"<sup>57</sup> and insists that this is a non-prescriptive incident and the Quaker women who are ministering, speaking in the spirit are by no means subject to this descriptive, historically rooted text. In fact, Fell focuses more on the love of Jesus that appeared in women and their active discipleship during Jesus' life and in early Christianity. Similar to an early patroness of Christianity herself, Fell recognizes that women's power is found both in the Spirit and in the created order. This dual location of power "makes her a participant in that power, not simply its conduit."<sup>58</sup>

### Establishment of Separate Women's Meetings

In addition to her extensive writings, Fell also was involved in the formation of separate women's meetings. The establishment of separate meetings for business at each level, as a counterpart to the men's meetings "was an unprecedented inclusion of females in church government."<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Thickstun, 275.

<sup>53</sup> Young, 50.

<sup>54</sup> Thickstun, 269.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 270.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 272.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 276.

<sup>59</sup> Larsen, 31.

Larsen indicates that there was no sweeping consensus in the innovation of a separate women's meeting. Fox believed that it was proper for Quakers to watch over members of their own gender.<sup>60</sup> It is not certain whether Fox's belief was rooted in the desire to keep women and men separate because he saw them as different, or whether he wanted women to have authority in the decision-making process too. Despite this unknown, it would seem fitting with Fox's disposition toward women that it was not intended to hinder women's authority. To some other members, however, division of the body in meeting was seen to break up the unity of the Spirit's inner guidance by subjecting the body to a rule without. However, even if perhaps the separate meetings did question the unity of the Spirit's action, they undoubtedly provided a platform for the development of women's authority.

In fact, in the words of Sarah Larsen, "the gathering of women to conduct Quaker church business challenged seventeenth-century assumptions about the unsuitability of women for authoritative positions while 'in the body' (In their gendered social identities)."<sup>61</sup> Women acting as leaders without the direct influence of the Spirit in the sense of prophecy were completely radical for this historical period. But with the establishment of separate women's meetings, the business of the spirit was also the business of equality. Not only were women gaining equal footing with men in the right to be used as conduits of power, but they also were taking on authority that was even legally denied to them. Larsen points this out by recording, "Women's subjugation to their husbands was maintained by English Common Law."<sup>62</sup> Religious authority and legal authority were inextricably entwined. Concepts of women's subjugation to men permeated all levels of society. Yet, through involvement in the formation of separate women's meetings, Fell helped reshape the fabric of society by challenging both the spiritual realm and legal realm.

## Conclusion

Although coming from a tumultuous context, Quakerism managed to develop with relative unity that kept its focus on the fundamental principal of Inner Light. Rather than dying out like many of the similar religious movements of the time, Quakerism grew rapidly. It faced opposition from all sides, but through persecution, members banded together and exemplified the qualities of their faith. Moved by a mystical awareness of the Inner Light of God in each individual, Quakerism provided a basis of human equality that is foundational for human rights.

Yet, despite Quakerism's foundation of equality, the question remains: Did George Fox believe in women's equality, both in the spiritual

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Larsen, 32.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 33.

realm as well as the realm of physical being? It is clear from his belief in the potential for each individual to experience the Inner Light that there is a common shared feature among all of humanity. This feature seems almost like a pre-existent, non-gendered soul. Given that the soul is the actualizing force for existence and gives the ability to experience God, it seems that Fox himself would see this provision as evidence that he was in full support of women's equality. He thoroughly defends equality from a biblical vantage point as well. Both he and Fell seem to be in agreement with their resolution of the Pauline women's problem. But are they? Fox's question to the Puritans of whether Paul forbids God to speak through a woman puts all of the equalizing action on God. Women are only the vessels through which this authority is expressed. Fox's focus lies primarily with the power of the Inner Light. Perhaps, due to his focus on this, he neglects to adequately defend equality for the whole psychosomatic expression of personhood.

In comparison to Fox's inclination to believe that women are vessels for power to be displayed through, Margaret Fell claims that, while partially validated through the work of the Inner Light, full equality is rooted in women's actual gendered being. Because of equality present in the order of creation, lost with the fall, and now restored through Christ, women have intrinsic authority to prophesy. Fell also evidences belief in intrinsic authority through her involvement with establishing separate women's meetings. The ability to act with authority apart from the realm of direct influence by the Inner Light enabled women to possess power within their gendered states. This ontological equality guarantees inherent authority equal to that of men both in the spiritual and secular realms. Rather than having to put off their femininity and speak as conduits of a non-gendered spirit, women themselves were the basis for authority.

A more general evaluation of George Fox and Margaret Fell indicates that they primarily agree on the equality of men and women. This is unsurprising given that their close relationship undoubtedly had tremendous influence on the formation of their individual views on equality. They affirm in unison that the "seed" of truth present within all people establishes intrinsic worth secured through the expression of full personhood that cannot be squelched by the power of artificial human constructs. This in itself is revolutionary for its time period. However, the particular extent to which they each develop this equality differs in both degree and method. There is absolute equality in the spiritual realm, and debated equality in the physical realm. Fell upholds ontological equality by forcefully asserting that women are empowered through their intrinsic natures. While not denying the additional power offered by the direction of the Inner Light, Fell's focus on the spiritual dimension is not quite as strong as Fox's. She does not see the Inner Light as the key validating feature for women's speech. Instead,

Fell's emphasis on separate women's meetings testifies to her confidence in women's natural, gendered, equal authority. Fox's impetus on the Inner Light's equal influence on both men and women indicates that he strove for full equality, yet seemed to focus more on the activating power of the spirit of God. This disproportionately strong focus on spiritual involvement led to a weaker validation of women's physical equality. Thus, his case for belief in full ontological equality is not as strong as Fell's. However, despite their differences, both figures are pivotal forces in the advancement of equality in religion.



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## Revolution and Revolutionary Literature in Angola

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Michelle Palacio

Africa's history as the Dark Continent is a well-earned title. Originally coined to describe the vast unknown of this large continent during years of exploration by men such as David Livingston, it later became a synonym for Africa's bloodthirsty timeline of war, terror and violence. Angola's history is one of colonization, revolution and civil war. Though there is a dark legacy to this country, writers such as Jose Luandino Vieira have shown that hope can still flicker on in some shape or form. The liberation movement of Angola is a revolutionary movement not unique to its time, when most African counties were gaining their independence, but the history leading to revolution and then the aftermath of long-lasting civil war is what makes it stand apart.

This essay explores the Angolan Liberation Movement and the literary work of Jose Luandino Vieira, and his revolutionary pieces as a writer and activist. Known as a pioneer of Lusophone literature in Africa, Luandino's impact on Angolan society is important. Through the exploration of Portuguese rule, the political policies that shaped Angola, and the liberation movement, one can better understand the literature and language that developed out of this era. Portuguese colonialism differed from other colonial powers and left distinct marks on the social and cultural development of its territories. Through this case study one sees how Angola followed similar and different patterns of revolution than other countries both within Africa and around the world. With long-standing ties to both the first world (Portugal, United States) and third world (Cuba), the international and national implications lasted long after independence was attained.

Revolution has many defining characteristics and can be misunderstood. It can be simply described as "wide spread opposition to existing conditions."<sup>1</sup> Hannah Arendt wrote in *On Revolution*, "[t]he modern concept of revolution, inextricably bound up with the notion that the course of history suddenly begins anew, that an entirely new story, a story never known or told before, is about to unfold, was unknown..."<sup>2</sup> With the Angolan

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<sup>1</sup> James DeFronzo, *Revolutions and Revolutionary Movements*. (Boulder, CO: Westview, 2007), 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

Revolution it is easy to argue against this idea. The Angolan revolution set the stage for a civil war that would last for the remainder of the 20th century, but much of what occurred initially in Angola would set the stage for future change. While there are some unique qualities, Angola strays little from the theoretical models developed in the late 20th century as to why and how revolutions occur.

This essay is divided into three parts. The first is the discussion of Marxism and Marxist based theories for understanding revolutions and why they occur. The second part of this essay is a case study that focuses on the Angola National Liberation Movement, which began in the 1950's and lasted until Angola gained independence in 1974. The final part of this essay looks at the impact of literature on the liberation movement and the important role that language plays in shaping revolutions and their aftermaths.

## Revolution and Revolutionary Theory

There are multiple theories of revolution that help in understanding the nature and impact of these movements. James DeFronzo, professor at the University of Connecticut and author of *Revolutions and Revolutionary Movements*, combines multiple theories to identify general conditions surrounding a revolution in order to produce a timeline. The first phase is one where intellectuals of the society turn against the regime. In the second phase the regime tries to implement reforms and policies to protect the existing order, but ultimately fails. The third development is that the revolutionary group(s) which takes over, begin to engage in internal conflicts. Next, the revolutionary movement that takes over is generally moderate, but these revolutionary groups are unable to fulfill the expectations of the society and more radical groups take over. Once these radical revolutionaries fulfill their expectations for revolution, there is a return to more moderate revolutionary leadership.<sup>3</sup>

Marxist theories for understanding revolutions are an important part of understanding these movements and are especially applicable in the case of Angola. Many theories have developed from Marx's original theory including the World Systems Theory. Marxist theory posits that revolution occurs at the point in time when "existing social and political structures and leadership interfere with economic development."<sup>4</sup> According to Marxist theory, four precursor stages lead to revolution: feudalism, capitalism, socialism, communism. Because capitalism is based on competition, conflict arises between the working and ruling classes. DeFronzo summarizes the situation when he states, "[w]hen the government controlling capitalist class attempts to maintain its grip on power, the working class is driven

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<sup>3</sup> DeFronzo, 19.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 27.

by frustration and exploitation to revolution.”<sup>5</sup> For Marx, the relationship between revolutions and technological and economic change is paramount.

World Systems Theory was based on Karl Marx’s work and was then further developed by Immanuel Wallerstein. Wallerstein’s refining of the World Systems Theory shows that capitalism is not only an economic system that occurs within the national borders of states; rather, it is a relational system among nations in which inequalities occur. Nations that adopted capitalist systems and practices early on subsequently dominated other nations by means of colonization. These relationships developed the dependency of weaker nations and economies. Such dependency hampers the growth of nations and states and leads to continued dependency.<sup>6</sup>

One feature of the global capitalist economy that Wallerstein emphasizes is the relationship to race and racial issues. Race and nationalism are products of the capitalist system. Wallerstein explains that ethnicity “fills an important role in both of these political and economic worlds, defusing the tensions created between their demands for economic inequality of the system and legal equality within the state.”<sup>7</sup> It “provides a legitimation to the hierarchical reality of capitalism that does not offend the formal equality before the law.”<sup>8</sup> This theory emphasizes not only development, but also unequal opportunity across national borders and even through time.<sup>9</sup> The example of Angola shows how capitalist oppression has dominated, not only Angola’s history, but also its current state of affairs.

Wallerstein’s theory revised Marxism. He pulled from his work the fundamental concepts of social conflict among material-minded groups, and the importance and centrality of class competitiveness, amongst many other things.<sup>10</sup> Wallerstein defines the world-system to be a “...multicultural territorial *division of labor* in which the production and exchange of basic goods and raw materials is necessary for the everyday life of its inhabitants.”<sup>11</sup> This division of labor leads to defining two interdependent regions. The first is the core, which are economically diversified, have significant means of influence over non-core states and are highly industrialized with strong central governments. In this case Portugal would be the core. The peripheries

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 26.

<sup>6</sup> Robert Drislan and Gary Parkinson, “Online Dictionary of the Social Sciences.” *Online Dictionary of the Social Sciences*. Athabasca University, 2002. Web. (Accessed April, 1, 2012).

<sup>7</sup> Kevin Ellsworth, *Racial and Ethnic Relations in the Modern World System: A Comparative Analysis of Portuguese Influence In Angola and Brazil*. Arizona State University, 1999. PDF. 11.

<sup>8</sup> Immanuel Wallerstein, “The Construction of Peoplehood: Racism, Nationalism, Ethnicity.” *Sociological Forum* 2.2 (1987): 373-88. Print, 386.

<sup>9</sup> Carlos A. Martínez-Vela, “World Systems Theory.” *MIT.edu ESD 83* (2011). Web.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>11</sup> Wallerstein, 387.

are states with weaker and less developed and diversified economies, weak central government and little institution building. These nations are also characterized by labor-intensive industries. The relationship between the core and periphery is of a structural nature.<sup>12</sup> Hierarchy is an essential part of the System analysis and is based on the fact that what is occurring is a global class struggle. For example, Wallerstein views the slave trade in Africa as the cause of its peripheralization.

The concept of “racial-demographic engineering” is applicable to the case in Angola and shows how, through immigration and education policies, Portugal was able to maintain dominance for so long.<sup>13</sup> While today Portugal has moved from the core to the periphery, it was originally not only the core, but also the model for colonization that France and England would use in its initial colonization efforts.

Another important element to understand revolutions is the development of nationalism. In order for nationalism to develop there does need to be a high degree of linguistic and cultural continuity.<sup>14</sup> Nationalism and ethnicity go hand-in-hand, because nationalism is based on unity. Ethnicity should not be misunderstood as a glorified family tree based on lines of descent, but also about shared memories, “cultural affinity embodied in distinctive myths, memories, symbols and values.”<sup>15</sup> Why then were the Angolan revolutionary groups unable to unite? Their shared sense of anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism was not enough to create a cohesive identity even though the idea of a transatlantic revolutionary identity was present.

### *The Angolan Independence Movement*

Portuguese settlement of Africa began in 1482 when explorers first landed in southern Congo. The settlement of the area of land which would become known as Angola, proceeded as settlers came and developed the coastal regions.<sup>16</sup> The city of Luanda, Angola’s present-day capital, was founded in 1575 but wasn’t granted status as a city until the Portuguese crown declared its recognition in 1605. Angola was known to be mineral rich and settlement became appealing. The first major industry to be developed was the slave industry. Starting in the 17th century Angola became a large supplier of slaves to North America and Brazil. It is estimated that by the

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>13</sup> Ellsworth, 1.

<sup>14</sup> Hearn, 16.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 17.

<sup>16</sup> “Angola,” *Background Notes on Countries of the World: Republic Of Angola* (2010): 1. *Business Source Complete*. Web. 1 Apr. 2012.

19th century, it was the largest supplier. In the words of Luanda's governor in 1753, Angola was a "rotten, vicious, and corrupt colony."<sup>17</sup>

When Brazil gained independence in 1822, this hampered the slave industry. The cross Atlantic slave trade was consequently abolished in 1836. The fact that this coincided with the industrial revolution posed a threat to the continued growth and competition for Portugal, which had already declined in world power status. With slavery abolished, the Portuguese settlers began focusing on other industries. In response to the demand for goods in Europe, a forced labor system was implemented within the country, and continued until 1961 when it was outlawed. While the transatlantic slave industry ended, this new issue of forced labor became just as brutal and threatening to the livelihood of native Angolans. This forced labor structure aided in the development of an economy structured on plantations and mining in Angola. Through this forced labor system (and British financing) a railroad was built from Angola - across Africa - to Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.<sup>18</sup>

While Portugal occupied the land known as Angola, they did not extend administrative control to the interior until the start of the 20th century. There was very little focus on building independent and self-functioning administrative systems or developing the country at all. Military officers were the primary administrative enforcers. In this context, Angolans developed their understanding of Europeans and European civilization. Paiva Couciero was the Governor General of Angola from 1907 to 1910 and was responsible for putting into place the administrative structure that would become legalized in 1914 and would last until independence. Theoretically these forms were meant to grant autonomy both financially and administratively to the colony, but there was little evidence that this actually occurred.<sup>19</sup>

The ethnic diversity of Angola is important in understanding the tensions that arose between different parties both during the revolution and in the years following. Less than 1% of the population is European while Umbundu makes up 37%, Kimbundu 25%, and Kikongo 13%.<sup>20</sup> Revolutions that are focused on overthrowing a specific colonial power are generally known as National Liberation Movements.<sup>21</sup> These movements generally develop a nationalist consciousness bringing together multiple classes, but in the case of Angola there was a unity of racial groups. While there was some organization fluidity during the liberation movement, ethnic distinctions eventually led to internal civil war.

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> "Angola," *Background Notes on Countries of the World: Republic Of Angola* (2010): 1. *Business Source Complete*. Web. 1 Apr. 2012.

<sup>19</sup> "Angola: Administration and Development," *Library of Congress Country Studies*. Library of Congress, Feb. 1989.

<sup>20</sup> "Angola."

<sup>21</sup> DeFronzo, 19.

*Portuguese Rule in Africa*

The Portuguese government did not focus on any form of social development in colonies but did pursue some assimilation policies, which developed a small group of Africans that were educated in and sometimes granted Portuguese status. From this group of discontented elite, who were not fully embraced by their Portuguese brethren, developed the first wave of liberation leaders.<sup>22</sup>

This regime focused and developed reforms that emphasized immigration to the colonies starting in the 1940's. During a time when many African countries were moving towards independence, Portuguese dictator António de Oliveira Salazar treated the colonies as provinces of Portugal. Assimilação was the official policy, which elevated a small number of native Africans to the status of "black Portuguese."<sup>23</sup> It was based on the ability of "the 'native' to speak, read and write the language of the colonizer."<sup>24</sup> This along with immigration developed a class of privileged intellectual elites, which would become the foundation of the liberation movement. Coupled with immigration, the practice of interracial marriages became increasingly common, forming a new mixed social class. The development of a racial hierarchy in Angola reflected the same stratified system that existed on a global scale.<sup>25</sup> The fact that this world system played out on multiple levels of analysis shows how deeply entrenched it is in human psyche.

The importance of language within this narrative should not be forgotten. The Portuguese language was a tool of repression, yet Luandino used Portuguese in his work. In a sense it is a protest as he finds a way of making the language his own by intermixing Portuguese words and phrases with the local languages. What is most interesting is that he uses the fashion of African story telling and folk tales as a sort of protest. By intermixing the language with the African style, Luandino shows how language is more than just alteration of culture and society – it is the flourishing of new thoughts, ideas and perspectives. Russell G. Hamilton, Professor of Portuguese, Brazilian and Lusophone African Literatures at Vanderbilt University, describes the use of language in "Lusophone Literature in Africa: Language and Literature in Portuguese-Writing Africa":

As members of the intellectual elites were beginning to analyze the exploitation of the masses of the "unassimilated," they were discovering that their own command of Portuguese was the principal measure of their relatively advantaged status in the

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<sup>22</sup> Library of Congress.

<sup>23</sup> Russel G. Hamilton, "Lusophone Literature in Africa: Lusofonia, Africa, and Matters of Languages and Letters." *Callalo* 14.2 (1991): 324-35. Print, 324.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 324.

<sup>25</sup> Ellsworth, 24.



existing colonial system. They found themselves in the awkward posture of simultaneously rejecting their acculturated status, while using it as a means of cultural resistance.<sup>26</sup>

Further along in this work, a more in depth discussion of language, nationalism and culture will be explored.

### *Pre-Revolutionary Conditions*

Salazar was pushing immigration starting in the 1940's, which was one reason for the growing discontent both economically and racially. In the 1950's the discontent over this immigration policy implemented by the Salazar Regime required a move to stabilize the country and the growth of infrastructure; this fit with DeFronzo's theoretical model for the stages of revolution. Henighan describes how the Portuguese government attempted to regain control and stability during this time:

In an effort to head off future violence, in the early 1960s the Salazar regime initiated a program to develop Angola's economic infrastructure. The Portuguese government increased the paved road network by 500 percent, stimulated the development of domestic air routes, provided emergency aid to the coffee producers, and abolished compulsory cotton cultivation. To reestablish confidence among Africans and among those who had been subject to reprisals by white settlers, the military initiated a campaign under which it resettled African refugees into village compounds and provided them with medical, recreational, and some educational facilities.<sup>27</sup>

This movement to implement policies essentially came too late for the regime and was completely ineffective in regaining already lost control over the colony.

### *The Rise of the Liberation Movement*

Three liberation movements sprang up in response to the brutal rule of the Portuguese government. The first was the Popular Movement for the

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<sup>26</sup> Russel G. Hamilton, "Lusophone Literature in Africa: Language and Literature in Portuguese-Writing Africa." *Callalo* 14.2 (1991): 313-23. Print, 316.

<sup>27</sup> Stephen Henighan, "The Cuban Fulcrum and the Search for a Transatlantic Revolutionary Culture in Angola, Mozambique And Chile, 1965-2008." *Journal Of Transatlantic Studies* (Routledge) 7.3 (2009): 233-248. *Academic Search Complete*. Web. 6 Mar. 2012, 235.

Liberation of Angola (MPLA), which was founded in 1953.<sup>28</sup> The MPLA was influenced by Marxist-Leninism and focused on cultural nationalism. António Agostinho Neto led them. Their primary base of supporters came from the Kimbundu and was also supported by the mixed race intelligentsia. These assimilated castes of black citizens were also exempt from racial laws imposed by the Portuguese government. The MPLA had links to communist parties in Portugal and had an advantage over other nationalist groups because of their leftist ideology, which drew international support and aid.<sup>29</sup> The MPLA had strong ties to the Cuban government. The relationship between the MPLA and Havana “developed over time into a multifaceted exchange which embraced the areas of medicine, food, street, talk, popular music, education, fashion and perceptions of heritage and cultural identity.”<sup>30</sup>

The second prominent group was the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA). The FNLA was founded in 1954. Their leader was Holden Roberto. This group also had an ethnic base with the Bakongo and had international ties to the Mabuto Regime in Kinshasa as the United States. The last group was the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). Jonas Malheiro Savimbi led this organization. The ethnic base of this group was the Ovimbundo people, which are located in central Angola. International ties included the Peoples Republic of China and the South Africa Apartheid regime.<sup>31</sup>

The importance of nationalism and developing a national identity, both during a revolution and after, is important and is very much related to the tasks of the elite. The fact that leaders like Luandino and Neto wrote and used Portuguese was often criticized but had a purpose to develop a national identity, which could cut across ethnic barriers. Unfortunately, ethnic and ideological ties often win out over nationalism. For Angola, the fact that the liberation groups were divided ethnically, socially, linguistically and economically was most likely too much and that is why post independence there was such a break down.

### *Violent Conflict and International Involvement*

The initial uprisings began in the first few months of 1961. MPLA began by attacking police officers and radio stations. Portuguese soldiers and law enforcement officers reacted with violence in turn. A quote from a report by the Library of Congress described the situation in these words: “Fear pervaded the country, driving an even deeper wedge between the races.”

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<sup>28</sup> Thomas Collelo, “Angola, a Country Study / Federal Research Division, Library of Congress.” *Millennium Web Catalog*, EBSCOhost (accessed May 17, 2012).

<sup>29</sup> Collelo, 31.

<sup>30</sup> Henighan, 235.

<sup>31</sup> “Angola.”

During this time there was an estimated 40,000 deaths from a combination of violence and famine, but mostly because of the famine and food shortages.

In 1961 the UN General Assembly ordered an investigation after allegations were brought forth against the Portuguese government for human rights violations. During this year with the outbreak of war the United Nations Security Council ordered an emergency hearing. Prior to these allegations being brought forth the case of Angola and Portugal was simply viewed as a matter of legality, but with the outbreak of war it was seen as an issue of international security and safety. In March of 1961 the Security Council facilitated a meeting in which a resolution was presented to Angola in which the colonial states of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique would be granted independence. The resolution was rejected because of lack of majority vote (5 for, 6 abstaining). A new resolution was then brought before the General Assembly and passed with only two votes against; Portugal and South Africa.<sup>32</sup> The United Nations played a bigger role in liberation of Lusophone Africa than any other African nation. Whereas other colonial powers had worked to create a political discourse, the Portuguese government went so far as to ban all political activity related to nationalism, nationalist movements or liberation. The involvement of the UN goes against DeFronzo's fifth point on conditions for revolution.

The Cuban government also had considerable involvement in Angola both during the revolution and during the civil war. Cuban soldiers fought alongside Angolans within the Angolan territory in 1965.<sup>33</sup> Cubans were clear that their revolutionary movements were "neither racist nor tribalist nor regionalist."<sup>34</sup> From 1965 until 1991 close to 500,000 Cubans served in Angola.<sup>35</sup> It wasn't until 1991 that Angola officially abandoned Marxist ideology and broke ties with Cuba. Prior to the revolution we had a generation of elites educated by Portugal now we also see a group educated by the Cubans, but with far less influence than the Portuguese.

### *Independence*

In 1974, there was a coup d'état, which occurred in Portugal and overthrew the Salazar regime. From this event Angola finally gained its independence along with other Portuguese colonies. After years of struggle against the Portuguese government, they essentially just gave up control. The question of whether this was a successful revolution or not is important to ask. Does this delegitimize the revolutionary work conducted or can the downfall

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<sup>32</sup> Lawrence Henderson, "Angola: Five Centuries of Conflict." *Millennium Web Catalog*, EBSCOhost (accessed May 17, 2012), 190-191.

<sup>33</sup> Henighan, 235.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 236.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 244.

of Portugal rather be looked at as a series of events? The revolutionary groups did not overthrow a government themselves but assisted in leading to their demise. It was not just this movement, but also the combination of internal and external factors that lead to the demise of a corrupt colonial government. In the wake of independence the government was meant to be given over to a coalition, which was comprised of the three liberation groups. This coalition was based on an agreement known as the Alvor Agreement and was presented to the three groups in 1975.<sup>36</sup> Due to ideological disagreements armed conflict developed, which lead to the Angolan Civil War. This civil war lasted until the 1990's. Through the decades Cold War ideological tensions played out among this tragedy as many political parties were supported and aided by larger world system issues.

### Literature and Revolutionary Movements

Understanding the literary component of this essay is done in three parts. The first component examines the theoretical work of Amílcar Cabral and Frantz Fanon. Then, the importance of language is examined with its relationship to nationalism and nationalist movements, and, finally, the work, life, and impact of native revolutionary writer Jose Luandino Vieira is examined in order to better understand the Angola Revolutionary movement. There is a relationship between literature and revolution that gives voice to oppression and creates a vernacular around revolutionary ideology, but there are many underlying components. Similar to the political revolutionary theory we see how the case in Angola is unique yet still follows similar models and patterns that have been set forth.

Frantz Fanon was a Martinique revolutionary and psychiatrist who used his own training and understanding of the world to develop theories on the role of the native intellectual and the importance of national culture. He describes the role of the native intellectual in his work, *On National Culture*, in three parts; "First the elites assimilate. Then the "native is disturbed; he decides to remember what he is."<sup>37</sup> The last phases is known as the fighting phases and it is the phase in which the elite stirs up the native people. This outline can be used to understand Luandino's experience and see the personal struggle that he must have gone through and the impact this must have had on his work. One critique that Fanon would have most likely had about Luandino is the focus that he had in his work on describing the existing situation. Fanon writes, "The artist who has decided to illustrate truths of the nation turns paradoxically towards the past and away from actual events."<sup>38</sup> Luandino focuses more on current situations in his work *Luuanda*, but he

<sup>36</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

<sup>37</sup> Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth: On National Culture*. 41.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

also had an impact in trying to identify and/or develop a national culture. Fanon emphasized the importance of constructing a future and the role that elites play in this.

Almícar Cabral was a revolutionary from Guinea-Bissau also contributed to the development of the Lusophone literary and cultural movement in Africa. He developed ideas of shared African heritage through racial mixing<sup>39</sup> and supported a transatlantic African identity and unity that would add support to third world revolutionary movements. Being African is not so much about race but a shared sense of heritage, oppression and anti colonialism. The importance of his work in developing not just a national culture but also a global culture is important. Similar to Fanon's belief that the native intellectual was responsible to national and global society is important and might be an indicator for Luandino's withdrawal from Angola society and return to Portugal later in life.

The importance of language has already been touched upon, but to understand the theories that explore the importance and meaning of language one must understand the culture and society. "Language is experienced as an evolving but relatively stable 'substance' that is shared and changed by those who speak it and that provides a fundamental means of intimacy."<sup>40</sup> Looking back to remarks by Cabral and Luandino about language being a 'spoils of war' is more understandable in this context because language is a substance. It can be given or used as a tool of oppression, but it cannot be taken away.

There is a strong relationship between language and nationalism. Hearn describes the role of language in relationship to nationalism in four parts; (1) functional communication, (2) symbolism and symbol of community, (3) status making, (4) developing ideology.<sup>41</sup> In terms of functional communication it is easy to see how this aided in Angola's liberation movement, but in order for nationalism to occur not only does printing literature in the vernacular need to occur, but widespread literacy. Without the combination of these two things there is little progress that occurs. For Angola the fact that during the revolution so many did not speak any Portuguese might be part of the cause for why the liberation groups were unable to unite. In terms of language being a symbol of community there is a great difficulty for Angola because the different ethnic groups have their own individual language identities and to include Portuguese was not an act of nationalism, but more agreeing to colonial rule. Language is an identifier of social status. For the Angolans during the liberation movement if you spoke and read Portuguese you were a member of the elite and therefore ruling class. The way that an individual speaks or talks is an easy identifier as to

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<sup>39</sup> Henighan, 239.

<sup>40</sup> Jonathan Hearn, *Rethinking Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*. Houndmills. England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006. Print. 35.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 214

whether they view you as an equal or wish to maintain authority. Lastly the role of language and ideology is very important to understanding Angolan revolutionary literature and its development. Each culture develops language habits and Angolan Portuguese is no different. The foundational writers of this era were able to develop a unique vernacular fused together by a shared history and sense of loss, deprivation and oppression yet held together by a sense of clear hope.

### *Angolan Lusophone Literature*

Two branches of literature have developed out of the Angolan Revolution leading to the prominence and significance of Lusophone literature. The first branch is very politically based and charged with rhetoric of the oppressed and revolutionary. This style developed by the MPLA leader Agostinho Neto, was something new in African writings. The style focused on using political rhetoric to unite the masses. Poetry is an easily accessible art form. It can be memorized and transferred from person to person through song and on scraps of paper. It is highly emotional and resounds with people on a very personal level. This styling is also accessible to the literate and illiterate and fits into the African oral traditions.

The second was more socially significant on a global scale and a style that focused on fusing African and European styles. Luandino is associated with this genre and his work, life and influence on the Angolan Liberation will be explored further on. From these two author's styles, questions arise. Even the fates of these two men—one a political leader and the other a recluse—causes one to examine their motivations behind their work. A picture of two different revolutionaries arises, but which is the authentic revolutionary? The European-Angolan who tried to speak the truth of Portuguese oppression and who was jailed for twelve years or the native born revolutionary who led a movement?

Jose Luandino Vieira is recognized as one of the most influential revolutionary writers in Angola's Liberation Movement and for the advancement of Angolan and Lusophone literature. To understand Luandino's impact in this area, one must also know about his personal life. Luandino was born in Portugal in 1935. His parents were poor and immigrated to Angola in 1938. They lived alongside the Angolan people and Luandino attended local schools. The lifestyle and environment with which Luandino was raised made him both aware and sensitive to the plight of the Angolan people and led to him being involved in the liberation movement. With a country whose European population is less than 1%<sup>42</sup>, it is significant that one of the most significant writers is from European descent.

Luandino was the dominant writer of the 1960's and 1970's and though he has drifted off into relative obscurity in the literary world, in recent

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<sup>42</sup> "Angola."

decades the impact of his influence has become very clear. Some criticize Luandino as he no longer lives in Angola but has retired to Portugal<sup>43</sup> and it becomes difficult to characterize him. Is Luandino a revolutionary? Is he a writer that happened into revolutionary circumstances? There are many answers to these questions that may not be answered and many more that arise, like whether Luandino has aided the progression of Portuguese literature or Angolan literature and whether these two things are the same or different.

Luandino was incarcerated in a colonial concentration camp in Cape Verde for 12 years. He completed most of his writings while he was imprisoned for his involvement in the liberation movement. He was first arrested in 1959 and was sentenced to 14 years in prison. As a member and participant of the MPLA movement, Luandino had a strong role and relationship with other prominent revolutionaries like Neto. Strikingly though, his earlier works were not politically charged but focused on “the camaraderie and conflict of people living in a world marked by the daily struggle for survival, repression and racism.”<sup>44</sup> The distinction between Luandino and other writers was that he shied away from straightforward political rhetoric, but rather tried to find an ‘Angolan’ voice.

Luandino is a difficult revolutionary to stereotype. He is a revolutionary and a revolutionary writer - not just someone who wrote about a revolution, but who challenge the very model of language and literature. He challenges this role and in many ways seems reluctant to fit the model of an African or Angolan revolutionary. His impact as a revolutionary writer almost comes after independence with the establishment Angolan Writers Union. In many ways Luandino seems to be a writer of the revolution rather than a revolutionary writer. Luandino now lives in Portugal as a recluse. It seems odd that after fighting and being imprisoned for a cause for so many years that he would return to the land of the oppressor, but it is hard to determine if Luandino ever really bought into or was accepted into this Angolan National identity. No matter what, would he have been considered a foreigner and an outsider? Maybe the issue was not with his skin, but he was still the product of a foreign oppressor.

In terms of political influence Luandino was a member of the revolutionary group, the MPLA, which as you may recall was the communist party backed by Cuba and the USSR. This group would eventually gain dominance after the revolution. While not overly involved during the course of the revolution due to his incarceration, he was jailed for his political ideology. His work *Luuanda* was written while in prison and was published after he was released. For the most part Luandino’s work would not have been

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<sup>43</sup> Henighan, par. 2.

<sup>44</sup> Mertin Litag, par. 2.

seen as aiding the revolution in terms of uniting people within Angola, but his work did receive a Portuguese book prize. The attention that his work received brought to light the issues that were occurring in Angola to the European world. Luandino revolutionized literature and was revolutionary, but in many ways the two aspects of this man were separate either by circumstance or choice. Whether Luandino would characterize himself as a revolutionary or someone who just wrote about the revolution is unsure. Due to the reclusive nature of Luandino now, it is difficult to gauge this.

### *Luuanda*

Luandino's piece *Luuanda* is comprised of three short stories: "Grandma Xixi and her Grandson Zeca Santos," "The Tale of the Thief and The Parrot," and "The Tale of The Hen and The Egg." These stories have been described as "not overtly political, their realism makes clear the oppressiveness of Portuguese occupation."<sup>45</sup> Others have praised his work, stating, "Luandino succeeded where others failed because he deftly avoided the pitfalls that commonly attended populist writing."<sup>46</sup> This same critic later describes his work: "Luandino was very sensitive to the tensions that existed between local dialect and national language and was able to compose a "fiction that seeks to compromise and smooth over the inherent tensions among the varying levels."<sup>47</sup> The tension in the political arena also plays out in the tension between language and usage in Luandino's work.

*Luuanda* is a set of three short stories that take place in the musseque (slum) of Sambizanga, Luanda. These stories deal with the issues that were affecting the daily lives of Angolans under colonial rule. Issues of poverty, hunger, racism and the general injustice that characterize most colonial circumstances are in each of these stories and provide a feel for what the circumstances of the time must have been like.

"Grandma Xixi and Her Grandson Zeca Santos" is the first story and is about a village elder who predicts the rain. The other character in this story is the elder woman's grandson Santos who is unemployed. As the story progresses we see how he struggles between his pride and shame of poverty and focuses on his issues with envy of rich white men. We see a sort of masking occurring as Santos tries to mimic the dress and actions of the white man to assimilate, but no matter how he dresses or speaks, the color of his skin will not allow him to fully assimilate.

The second story is "The Tale of the Thief and the Parrot," which opens with a group of men meeting in prison—a crippled man named Garrido, Dosreis who is a thief, and an old man. This short story is further

<sup>45</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

<sup>46</sup> Hamilton, "Lusophone Literature in Africa: Language and Literature in Portuguese-Writing Africa," 320.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid*.



fragmented into narratives of each prisoner and how they came to be in jail. This story deals with the pettiness with which people are treated by being thrown into jail for trivial actions and being mistreated. The Old Man in this story represents a traditional voice and weaves the story with elements of more African lore, while the narratives of the younger men have a different feel because of the influence of the colonial power.

The third tale, "The Tale of the Chicken and the Egg," revolves around a chicken that moves from yard to yard laying its eggs. From this, disputes arise about who owns the egg, the owner of the chicken or the yard in which it was left? This commentary and accusation of ownership is the most political of the three stories and has a direct challenge to the Portuguese government and colonialism as a whole. The issues of resources and exploitation are common in colonial themes.

A Kimbandu and Portuguese fusion is the defining linguistic characteristic of Luandino's work, but also his understanding of the African oral tradition lends itself to the uniqueness of his style and work. An article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* describes *Luuanda*: "Although the stories are not overtly political, their realism makes clear the oppressiveness of Portuguese occupation."<sup>48</sup> Luandino described the Portuguese language as a "spoil of war,"<sup>49</sup> and this idea of ownership is seen in his work as he takes liberty, intermixing words and phrases in native languages to create a new vernacular. The idea of ownership was that the Portuguese language was something that the liberation movement took from the Portuguese. During Portuguese rule the government did not make any efforts or advancement in education or increasing literacy. Cabral also had similar sentiments to Luandino expressing that the best thing that the Portuguese left behind was the language.<sup>50</sup>

Statistical studies executed in the 1970's show that less than 1% of the rural population was fully fluent in Portuguese during this time period. When nationalist liberation movements began to form, education became one of the largest platforms by which they recruited new members. Due to the ethnic diversity of the country the use of Portuguese became a tool used against the colonial power and became a way to mobilize the masses. The fact that Luandino and others often describe the language as a spoil of war indicates how the elites were able to recognize that mass unity was and is essential, but like many African states this unity and nationalism is difficult without a shared language and culture. A shared sense of history and oppression has been enough for some states, but why hasn't it been enough for Angola and even more broadly Africa? While the use of Portuguese in

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<sup>48</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, par. 1.

<sup>49</sup> Hamilton, "Lusophonia..." 329.

<sup>50</sup> Hamilton, "Lusophonia..." 325.

literature is important and the style in which it is used is relevant, it is only given meaning through the greater socio-historical context.

From this study many questions arise, but in particular the question of the future of the Portuguese language — specifically in Angola, but also in the rest of the world. Portuguese is a global language. Though it is not broadly spoken as French or English, it is considered to be a global language. The parallels between English and Portuguese are interesting. For English we see how many of the most unique, interesting and praised writers of today are coming from the peripheral countries and former colonies. There are countries where English is not the first language, but is the common language for literature because it is a language that reaches further. Through Luandino's work he paved the way to an era where some of most interesting writers using Portuguese are not from Portugal.

## Conclusion

The relationship between communities, cultures, ethnicity, economics and politics is the defining part of a revolution. This combination of elements brings forth conflict and issues that essentially revert back to the issues of power over resources. The case of Angola is defined by a series of events that led to the downfall of what was once a world power. Through colonialism Angola lost elements of native culture, but it gained a platform on a global stage. Western World associates culture with technology,<sup>51</sup> but as we have seen through Angola it is innovation and thoughts that can also have an impact.

The Angolan National Liberation Movement is a prime example of political revolution and Cultural Revolution coming together to create something new. Returning to Arendt's thoughts on "the modern concept of revolution," there is an expectation that everything will change, that the history of society and culture will somehow become less significant. For Fanon emphasis is placed on looking to the future rather than the past to create a new cultural narrative, but for Angola and the rest of Africa the histories of peoples and cultures are so tightly bound to identity they are often placed on a secondary scale in order to develop a new nationalism. What a revolutionary like Luandino recognized and tried to display in his writing is that these multiple identities can coexist. Yes, this may be at a loss of the ethnic society, but without seceding some cultural sovereignty Angola will remain in the periphery both culturally and economically. Luandino and other authors who chose to write in Portuguese recognized that embracing the language would give Angola a greater voice on the world stage. While the

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<sup>51</sup> Fitz Earl, "Internationalizing The Literature Of The Portuguese-Speaking World." *Hispania* 85.3 (n.d.): JSTOR SRU Gateway. Web. 1 May 2012.

Angolan Revolution was in fact violent and many were victimized by brutal colonial rule, something new and noteworthy has developed. Pliny the Elder wrote in the 1st century C.E. “Ex Africa semper aliquid novi” – *Out of Africa always something new*. It does not erase the history, but rather recognizes the potential for a new nation state.

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